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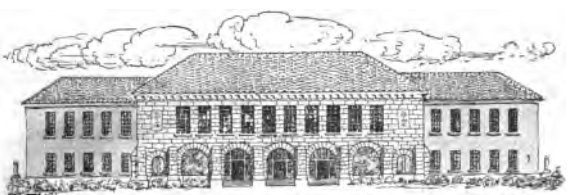

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NATIONAL EDUCATION.

"Leges legum, ex quibus informatio peti possit quid in singulis legibus bene aut perperam positum aut constitutum sit."

BACON. *De Fontibus Juris.*

"*Smith.* We took him setting of boys' copies.

Jack Cade. Here's a villain!"

SHAKSPEARE. *Henry IV.* Act iv. Sc. 2

MELBOURNE:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE "ARGUS" OFFICE, COLLINS STREET.

1853.

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TO

THE HONORABLE J. H. PLUNKETT,

HER MAJESTY'S ATTORNEY-GENERAL,
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF NATIONAL EDUCATION, NEW SOUTH WALES.

MY DEAR SIR,—The cordial manner in which you have met my desire to dedicate the following pages to you, renders it easy to explain, in few words, my reasons for enunciating opinions on so important a subject as education.

When the Board of which you are Chairman did me the honor to appoint me as their Agent and Inspector, I sought, unsuccessfully, for some popular exposition of facts connected with the progress and prospects of education in other countries; and on being assured that no comprehensive treatise of the kind was extant, I could not but reflect that the mere statistics embodied in such a work would be highly useful; and I determined, therefore, to avail myself of the first opportunity afforded by a fixed abode, to arrange those facts which I would gladly have found compiled by another.

Convinced that undue credence was during many years attached to exparte and interested allegations of claimants of irrevocable right to control education, I have sought to test their value by historical proofs; and to avoid an appearance of want of continuity, I thought it advisable to begin at the beginning, and try by the Scriptures themselves the value of those claims which experience has long condemned. By this means I have availed myself of Sir Edward Coke's well known maxim, that the way to expose an error was to trace

it to its source, and ascertain from what springs the impure current found access to the stream which it claimed to represent.

In my retrospect I found clear proof that in the barbarous ages, and from dissolute and truculent tyrants, Churchmen first received those secular privileges and condiments which were disowned by the spirit of their faith, but were unhappily permitted to contaminate the pure waters of religion, and to divert wholesome energies into channels stained with cruelty and corruption.

The Bible repudiates, history exposes, and humanity is weary of that uncharitable bigotry which, under the mask of religious earnestness, would deny a repast to a brother unless he will prepare it according to a fashion of which his conscience disapproves.

The Tenth Chapter has been kindly furnished to me by a friend (H. C. E. Childers, Esq.), who was some time Inspector of Denominational Schools in this Colony, and to whom I was glad to be able to confide the description of the present prospects of education in England.*

You will perceive that though, for obvious reasons, he has dealt tenderly in terms with what he admits to be in effect unreasonable prejudice of party, the implication of the chapter is throughout national.

* To show how feebly the experiment conducted by the Privy Council, and resisted or perverted by the Bishop of Exeter and others, has been able to operate on the public mind, one fact will suffice. In 1851 there were in England 4,207,104 children of age to attend school, yet only 256,888 were examined by Her Majesty's Inspectors. There were 40,557 children in the workhouses, and 21,038 of these were entirely helpless except by State support. Yet, in the face of such facts, there are those who strive to render the State grant more and more exclusive, or less and less available for the people at large.

The absurd fallacy (which is ignorantly or designedly put forth by many who ought to shun such a subterfuge), that National Schools cannot but degenerate into Denominational ones in effect, and become exclusively devoted to one or other Denomination, is admirably refuted by your last report, showing that out of 854 children admitted to your Model School in one year, 401 were of the Church of England, 318 were Roman Catholics, 77 were Presbyterians, and the remainder were principally Wesleyans.

Those who are intimately or chiefly acquainted with the tone of party and the social aspect of England, may have reason, and have certainly an excuse for temporizing in the midst of complex relations and vested interests;—but the cycle of Colonial events, whether for weal or woe, is being rapidly accomplished, and in matters of great moment here, to hesitate is to be undone.

Having, therefore, no drag upon my candour, I have spoken freely, as I think the occasion deserves, and for the entire work, excepting the text of the Tenth Chapter, I confess myself answerable; the only person cognisant of my labors throughout their progress being my kind friend the Chief Justice, whose friendly encouragement I cannot too thankfully acknowledge.

It is very possible that some of the opinions enunciated are such as I should not have been justified in expressing while I acted as Inspector of Schools. Some passages indeed may be displeasing to yourself or to your colleagues, and may be irreconcilable with my premises. For all such passages (and I dare not presume that many such have not crept into a work composed by that rescue of leisure from the night, which official duties prevented me from bestowing in the day,) I would solicit the forgiveness of yourself and others; but wherever the inferences drawn are strictly accordant with historical data, you will doubtless agree with me that it is the duty of the compiler or essayist to speak boldly and conscientiously. This I have endeavoured to do, not as a partisan of my own sect, nor as the servant of an institution, but as a member of the community, who having enjoyed excellent opportunities of observation, would be culpable in neglecting to apply the results of his labours to the public service, and, if possible, for the public good.

On the main body of the facts submitted, I can firmly rely; and where they do not confirm my deductions, I resign the latter to contempt.

After the work was prepared for the press, it was doubtful whether it could be printed; and the refusal of more than one establishment to undertake a work of such magnitude nearly caused me to abandon the idea of publication: at this crisis, however, a part of the MS. was placed in the hands of the publishers, at whose expense, and by whose efforts only, has its appearance been now secured.

In conclusion, permit me to express my sincere pleasure in offering this tribute, which I am aware must find its chief merit with you, in the reflection that your single-minded zeal has been appreciated by one, who having had ample means of information, gratefully testifies that to yourself and your several coadjutors, the Australian Colonies are deeply indebted for their present prospects of sound educational institutions.

I remain,

Yours, sincerely,

G. W. RUSDEN.

MELBOURNE,
September 1852.

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NATIONAL EDUCATION.

CHAPTER I.

Of all the subjects which engross the mind of man, there is surely none which can more worthily engage the special attention of the statesman, the philosopher, and the philanthropist than that of Education.

Those who would exalt the standard of education need never lay themselves open to the charge of paying too much attention, or being too much devoted, to the elevation of the mere worldly intellect which has been bestowed upon man by his Creator.

The experience of mankind—and we must remember with Bacon that "the old age and increasing years of the world should in reality be venerated as its antiquity,"—the experience of mankind is fast exploding the fallacy that men must needs be ignorant in order to be religious; and the kindred error, in natural physics, must also die, which would imply that a deep, general, searching investigation of truth is a probable means of educing error.

If the physical frame when unpractised, cannot but fail to accomplish the niceties of an art; just as surely may we assert that the mind, which is formed to appreciate the beauty of the visible, and, in part, the harmonies of the invisible, must, by absence of culture, fail to arrive at that

standard, for which God has fitted it, and from which none but the ignorant or the selfish would attempt to debar it.

We have the highest possible authority for the assertion, that man is held responsible for the talents with which his Maker has endowed him; we have no authority to declare that men in communities will be absolved from the responsibilities which the guides of states attain, when they are in a position so to legislate, as to advance, or to retard, the general progress of the human mind. By progress I mean advancement towards a knowledge and appreciation of truth: and that no search after truth can be erroneous, may be confirmed by the citation of the following passage:—

"There be two principal duties and services, besides ornament and illustration, which philosophy and human learning do perform to faith and religion. The one, because they are an effectual inducement to the exaltation of the glory of God; for as the Psalms and other Scriptures do often invite us to consider and magnify the great and wonderful works of God, so if we should rest only in the contemplation of the exterior of them, as they first offer themselves to our senses, we should do a like injury unto the majesty of God, as if we should judge or construe the store of some excellent jeweller by that only which is set toward the street in his mart. The other, because they minister a singular help and preservative against unbelief and error, for our Saviour saith, 'You err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God;' laying before us two books or volumes to study, if we will be secured from error; first the Scriptures revealing the will of God; and then the creatures expressing his power; whereof the latter is a key unto the former: not only opening our understanding to conceive the true sense of the Scriptures, by the general notions of reason and rules of speech; but chiefly opening our belief in drawing us into a due meditation of the omnipotence of God, which is chiefly signed and engraven upon his works. Thus much, therefore,

for divine testimony and evidence concerning the true dignity and value of learning."—*Bacon.*

The Almighty will is revealed in the natural as well as the spiritual world, and it is vainglorious and weak to scorn the study of the Creator's works, as it would be irreligious to withhold faith in the Redeemer's Word. That the study of nature should in any manner displace, or supersede religious devotion I am not asserting; but upon those who deny the necessity of labouring to understand the works of the Creator, it is incumbent to prove that man can live in this world independently of the creations around him; which, if any man should attempt to do, he would, during his brief existence, be no less a mock of humanity than were the anchorites of Egypt a reproach to the humanizing and loving religion which they professed. To live in isolation, and abnegation of culture, is as much denied to the health of the mind, as existence without nourishment is forbidden to the health of the body. There are few, however, that deny that education is a benefit; and for those few I shall have a word to say hereafter. I wish now to deal with the general question historically; to trace what was done among the ancient nations, the patriarchs of the world.

First, let us trace the history of education as exhibited in the Bible. Who was the instructor of youth in the days of the theocracy of the Jews? In the first, great essential, religion, the father of a family was the guide, the instructor, and even more—the priest. There was no inculcation of religion that was not domestic: of this fact we have full assurance, not only by the absence of proof to the contrary, which in the event of extraneous provision would have been contained in the minute details of the Mosaic history and the Levitical law; but by the frequent stress which is laid upon the statement, that upon the parent devolved the duty of instructing his children in the law of God. In proof of this, if proof be needed, let us refer

to the sixth chapter of Deuteronomy:—"And these words which I command thee shall be in thy heart. And thou shalt teach them diligently *unto thy children*, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up: And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the posts of thine house, and on thy gates. * * * * and when *thy son* asketh thee in time to come, saying, What mean the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgments which the Lord our God hath commanded you? Then thou shalt say unto *thy son*, We were Pharaoh's bondsmen in Egypt, and it shall be our righteousness if we observe to do all these commandments before the Lord our God, as he hath commanded us." Again, in the eleventh chapter, we find the same injunctions respecting parental duties, coupled with this reward for fulfilment of them,—"That your days may be multiplied, and the days of your children in the land which the Lord sware unto your fathers to give them, as the days of heaven upon the earth."

That the Jewish parents did not perform their duties thoroughly is well known, but of the mode enjoined there can be no doubt; and even at the present day, in Syria and amongst the Israelites of the East, there is celebrated a remarkable and touching ceremony when, in presence of his kindred, the child, scarcely able to comprehend the mysterious solemnities around him, is placed before his father, and repeats the interrogatory I have just quoted, and receives from his father the answer prescribed in Scripture.

In process of time, when a distinct order of priesthood had rendered unnecessary the assumption, by a parent, of the ministerial functions of the priestly office, the parental duty was narrowed to a certain extent; it interposed not in priestly ministrations, and was not associated in the public

annunciation and declaration of the law, which at stated periods devolved upon the priests; but it resigned in no manner whatsoever the education of a family.

The Rabbin expounded the law in the temple, in later times in the synagogue, and in academies whither the children of the rich, or some who were particularly selected, were sent for instruction; but this education was not, as regarded children, ordained in the law, and it is, therefore, apparent that as, in the Jewish theocracy, education of youth, over and above that which it is the province of the priest publicly to afford, was declared to be, even in religious inculcation, the duty, nay more, the peculiar duty, of parents; so, by the direct Word of God, it is announced that parents can perform that duty:—The Almighty never imposes on His creatures a burden above their strength, and this burden having been imposed on man, is manifestly not beyond his strength or capacity. That this duty of parents has been in any degree qualified by the introduction of the Christian dispensation, can only be asserted by those who are prepared to allege that the Mosaic law was simpler than the Christian; this, however, not being the case, it follows that as parents could teach the more complex, so they can more easily teach the simpler law, and it is, therefore, their duty to do so.*

I believe it to be susceptible of proof, that by the cession of religious instruction by parents to vicarious hands, the causes of religious indifference have been multiplied in the world, and have only been counteracted by the eminent zeal of that evangelical crusade which, relying on Providence, and proclaiming the Gospel, has acted like leaven upon the mass of mankind.

It cannot be denied that, if this view be correct, the replacement of the parental functions according to Scriptural

* At the age of thirteen years and one day, the young Jew is considered bound to observe the 613 precepts of the law.

prescription, would go far to extend the influence of true religion.

Schools were gradually established among the Jews, but, as I have already remarked, they were principally intended for the children of the wealthy: there have not been wanting, however, persons who would wrest Scripture phrases, in order, if possible, to frame proofs that these Schools, and the Teachers of those times, were somewhat different from that which a plain unprejudiced person would imagine. An example of this enthusiasm may be found in the following liberal reading of the passage which our English version renders,—"*Jacob was a plain man living in tents,*" but which has thus been extenuated and expounded,—"*Jacob was a perfect man, and a minister of the house of doctrine.*"

The Bible, however, is not considered obscure on the points to which men must adhere in practice, and it is certain that it mentions no such scholastic training as would relieve any class of mankind from the domestic duty of inculcating religion; in fact, it directly enjoins that duty. At the same time we must remember, that the means of publicly declaring the ordinances of the Almighty were, in many ways, provided for. There were the priests, whose constant duty it was to declare and teach, publicly and privately, the law of Jehovah, and there were occasionally additional expounders of the law; for we find that Joshua at Mount Ebai, read the words of the law to the whole people. *Joshua* viii. "And afterwards he read all the words of the law, the blessings and cursings, according to all that is written in the Book of the law. There was not a word of all that Moses commanded which Joshua read not before all the congregation of Israel, with the women and the little ones, and the strangers that were conversant with them."

It is true that the custom of publicly reading the law was not observed so strictly after Joshua's time, as it ought to

have been; for we find that when Nehemiah assembled the people to hear the law read loudly, the sense being given, and the meaning explained, the people were much excited and moved, not having been assembled in like manner since the days of Joshua the son of Nun. This singular passage in the Book of Nehemiah, shows us that the duties of domestic and priestly teaching had been suffered to fall considerably into abeyance, but it cannot justify an inference that the Jewish dispensation, which was a pure theocracy, contained less than ample and wholesome provision for religious education; and the absence of such justification points to the conclusion, that the ordinary education of a good school, together with domestic and priestly teaching, at the hearth and in the temple, form a sufficient education for human governments to attempt to confer.

All these aids (supplemented as they are, in modern times, by the never weary monitor, which he who can read bears about with him in the Holy Scriptures), cannot have lost their efficacy since they were ordained for the chosen people of Israel.

But the Christian dispensation, moreover, rather simplified than otherwise, the special teaching of religious ceremonies and rites. The Apostles themselves frequently allude to this fact, and I shall, therefore, not pause to allege quotations in proof of it. Consequently, there is no increased privilege of interference which devolves upon the priest to the prejudice of the duty of parents in the inculcation of religion; and, as this conclusion holds good without reference to the invention of printing, and the facility of obtaining books, how much does it vindicate its truthfulness when we reflect upon the appliances which every learner can command at the present day!

It must not be supposed that the ignorance of the law, which was evinced by the people in the days of Nehemiah, arose in any manner from a paucity of priests; for by the

census taken on the occasion alluded to, it is shewn that the priests numbered rather more than one in ten of the whole congregation, which amounted to more than forty thousand souls.

In face of the facts I have quoted, backed as they must be in the recollection of Scripture students, by a host of collateral passages, it cannot be denied that household education, aided by public preaching and exposition of the law, was ordained to be the mode of inculcating religion amongst the early Jews. It is perhaps impossible to trace the origin of new classes of schools, but it is certain that in process of time the schools of the Prophets, and other schools taught by the Rabbin, were set on foot, and were principally adapted for the reception of the children of the rich. Such schools were perhaps common in the East; and, at any rate, it is plain that Moses was trained in an Egyptian priestly school; Cyrus was trained in a school attached to the Persian court; and it is known that the Indian Brahmins taught in secret schools. But the amount of learning to be acquired in any of these schools was of a nature ill-adapted to the general wants of a community, and was never attempted to be applied to the mass of any nation. We may observe that it was the custom for the Jews to resort to the schools of the Prophets in order to resolve questions of difficulty; and perhaps the schools of the Synagogues afterwards were similarly made use of,—their advantages, however, were applicable but to a few. The reader will recollect that Saul, when in search of some missing asses, travelled a long distance before he was able to enquire of the prophet Samuel what he should do.

It being acknowledged that the Divine Law must have been adequately framed for the purpose required; and, established, that the law prescibes parental and priestly admonitions and teaching, at the hearth and in the synagogue and temple, as the sufficient method of inculcating religion, there remains the question, Did the Christian Dispensation in any manner qualify the amount of the parental and priestly

duties in teaching the young? or, Is the Christian Dispensation more difficult to teach and more complex than the Mosaic? We have no warrant for answering these questions except negatively, on the authority of Scripture. There is, however, another question which it is the duty of every statesman to resolve: Has the aspect of the world so changed that in material investigations, in conforming to social proprieties, and in physical knowledge of all that occurs around him, and demands action from him, the learning necessary to man has become more various and comprehensive than it was in the days of the patriarchs? Who will deny that it has?

Religion, the highest study of mankind, is no less accessible now than it was in the days of Abraham; from the burning sands of Arabia, the luxurious shelter of tropical vegetation, or by the shore of the icy Neva, man can place himself in communion with his God, and, so to speak, rise superior to the difficulties of his flesh; but, in the world of matter, physical relations and necessities imperatively demand obedience or care; and there is no way to overcome the difficulties imposed by those necessities except by timely study and labour.

Now it is clear that though every parent can at present, as in the days of Abraham, teach wholly or in part the duty we owe to the Almighty, no parent can hope to be able to teach all the intricacies of worldly science, which, nevertheless, are necessary to his children: hence the duty of schoolmasters (a race of men indeed too much despised or too little esteemed). And this duty is not the mere mercenary performance of what the parent or priest could do better themselves if they had leisure, but it is the high and difficult task of doing, in an appropriate sphere, what is not demanded from parent or priest, and what, in many instances, neither the one nor the other could perhaps perform. Doubtless most people have, in the course of their experience, heard an

ignorant parent declare that if children are sent to school just to be kept out of harm's way for a year or two, and to learn to read and write a little and to repeat their Catechism, all has been done that need be done. But this feeling is an injurious one to the character and office of the teacher, and is destructive of the responsibility of the parent, who comes to look upon the teacher as a convenient mercenary, to do what parents are too lazy or too careless to do for themselves.

I am far from asserting that a teacher should not aid the parent, and I am persuaded that he is just so much the more likely to do so in proportion as the parent may acknowledge and act up to his own responsibility and duty. It is a matter of consolation to reflect, that day by day the conviction gathers strength in the world, that the position of teachers is one which ought to be recognised as the most honorable.

Having thus glanced, in some measure, at the object I have in view as respects an exposition of the duty of the teacher in the present age, I shall now resume my historical sketch of those educational institutions which have at different times and in different countries been formed for the training of the young; but before doing so I am tempted to insert here, as an appropriate conclusion to the remarks I have made upon the Jews, one or two facts which are also an apt corollary to the hints I have thrown out concerning the duties of parents, as set forth in Scripture. It has been observed that the Jews are punctilious, to a striking degree, in conforming to their laws and institutions at the present day; and they have occasionally given remarkable exemplifications of their adherence to the faith of their fathers.

Yet it cannot be denied that the Jews receive less state support than is given to any other persuasion in Christian countries; nor can it be denied that they teach their religious tenets effectually in those countries. They do this, however, not in public schools, for it is the labour of domestic love and scriptural duty;—the responsibility of the parent is acknow-

ledged and undertaken, and the result is that, considered as a people, the Jews are perhaps more observant of their laws and better versed in their peculiar tenets than any other family of mankind. Surrounded as they are in some countries by millions of persons professing a dominant religion, and seeing, as they do, that dominant religion vainly sought to be thrust out of its sacred sphere, and entrusted to teachers who are invited to desert their particular calling in order to usurp the authority of the parent, the Jews, unaided by the state, succeed in doing what the majority around them fails to do, though it annually expends vast sums, and bestows diversified attention in seeking to accomplish it. Why is this? Merely because the duty of parents is not neglected, and because their Scripture (which in this respect is our Scripture) is religiously adhered to.

This remarkable feature in the Jewish character can be pointed out, not only now, in days of toleration, but of old, when persecution was rife. In the year 1492, so celebrated for the discovery of America, the Jews were expelled from Spain by an edict of the king, and yet there were very few apostasies, though apostasy would have saved them from exile from a land in which for several centuries their race had dwelt. Their alternative was to accept the religion of Ferdinand or to quit his country; to profess the triumphant faith of the Holy Inquisition, or to become houseless wanderers. Nearly all of them accepted the latter condition; and in a band, which has been variously estimated at 300,000, 650,000, or 800,000, they abandoned their pleasant abodes, in preference to deserting the religion of their fathers. Christians cannot point to a more glorious material martyrdom than this; and those who deny that the temple and the domestic circle are the peculiar shrines of religious teaching, will prove the consistency of their arguments very ingeniously indeed, if they can explain the superiority of their

own system to the organisation which produced the noble result above detailed.

In Roman Catholic France, when the Christian religion was for a time proscribed, was there such a sacrifice made? Yet there was a numerous body of ecclesiastics, and they had administrated a vast amount of wealth up to the date of the Revolution.

CHAPTER II.

TURNING now from the Judaic Dispensation, and not delaying to speak of the Brahminical or Chinese systems, both of which, though ancient, need not now be dwelt upon,—since the one was esoteric, and ill-adapted to the wants of a whole nation, and the other, though ancient, is extant, and may be included amongst modern educational efforts,—it may be well to advert to the leading features of the Persian, Cretan, and Lacedæmonian systems. All of these were framed expressly for the tuition of a certain number of state servants, or rather of state rulers: the formation of the characters and the mental improvement of the bulk of the people was not even aspired for: these were objects which it was reserved for Christianity to introduce as the proper study of mankind; and they were in heathen times neglected for the promotion of the straight-forward and rough, though partially patriotic, object of furnishing from a few picked samples, the machinery by which the general crowd might be governed.

Gymnastics and justice were topics so mingled together, as the beau ideal of a scholar's ambition, that we need scarcely wonder if the most nervous arm or brawniest breast often induced a bulky possessor to believe his will as righteous as his physical force was great; and thus the world around the Persian and Cretan courts was governed by an aristocracy, artificial though not necessarily hereditary; and the education of this band of servants, soon to become lords of their

country, was manifestly one of which the people at large could not partake. Montesquieu thus succinctly characterises the laws of Crete and of other ancient states: "Les lois de Minos, de Lycurgue, et de Platon supposent une attention singuliere de tous les citoyens, les uns sur les autres. On ne peut se promettre cela dans la confusion, dans les negligences, dans l'etendue des affaires d'un grand people."

Both in Persia and Greece the course of education continued at the cost of the state (for more than the tenth of a century in the life of each pupil who was fortunate enough to survive the infliction); and without receiving such education it would seem that no one was eligible for public employment.

In Sparta the education of youth was more to be called physical than mental; and the preference of the body to the mind was boldly shown in the exposure to death of a deformed or sickly child, in order that the nation might be rid of a useless burthen; the elders of a tribe taking on themselves the responsibility of deciding in each case. Children considered fit to live were, however, kindly returned to their parents for seven years, during which all foolish fondness was denounced, and at the lapse of that time each parent had again to surrender his child to the iron rule of Lycurgus, which was indeed admirably adapted to render a pupil a sufficiently harsh tyrant over the hapless Helots, whom it was one of the Spartan virtues to crush to the earth, in debasement, physical and mental.

It is a relief to turn from the grim mould of Spartan tuition to the more genial experiments by means of which Athens essayed to develope the faculties of her citizens: *there* we begin to recognise the empire of *mind*,—an empire which, true to its heavenly origin, and despite the weight of heathenism, produced results which no time seems destined to efface, and which tens of succeeding centuries have left unequalled. In all the departments of the fine arts then

practised, the Grecian model, whose fashioning or creation has undergone the gloom of two thousand winters, still remains the cynosure of the artist and poet.

But this excellence, however perfect in its kind, reached not the hearts of the people at large. Athens was no republic in the modern sense of the term. There were more slaves in Athens than there were freemen, and the civilization of the latter in very few instances was of use to the former; and besides this, the mental elevation of those who were free, was a sad coming short of that perfect and genial use of the faculties of the mind, which Christianity and truth are one day destined to bring about; still, much may be said to have been done three and twenty centuries ago; from many neighbouring climes went the wisest of their age, to discuss in the Schools of Athens the great problems of existence and of truth. That they failed in eliminating all sources of error can scarcely be imputed against them as a ground of complaint; and it may be perhaps truly asserted that all which uninspired reason could do, was done in Greece, when in discoursing on creation and divinity, Socrates was the good genius on whose accents hung the enquiring minds of his countrymen; but a divine dispensation was not so to be won; in scaling an imaginary heaven the gifts won by man recoiled on himself, and, like Pandora's box, cast doubt and woe among nations; it was only when the golden chain was let down from heaven itself, that men could find a remedy for earthly ills, and a foundation for immortal hopes; and the links of that chain were beyond the grasp of man, until the appearance of the Saviour taught an unwilling world that charity, long-suffering, and love, were the brightest jewels with which humanity could be adorned; and that the humility of which they were the fruit, could not exist without faith and hope, whose aspirations soared to heaven, and conformed to the precepts enjoined by the great Creator and Sustainer of all. Never-

theless, whatever the Greeks succeeded in doing, we cannot assert that they formed even in Athens such a systematic scheme of education as is needful to develope the faculties of a people—that is to say, of a free people. For the governing few their institutions may have been comparatively well-fitted, "but what is that among so many?" Before turning from the Greeks, I cannot refrain from quoting a most true and touching saying of Pericles (concerning the importance of the youth of a country,) that the "loss incurred by a commonwealth in the destruction of its youth, was like the loss which the year would suffer by the destruction of spring;" and I would ask with an old writer, if the blasting of a crop is not in some measure comparable to its destruction? Are not they robbers of their country whose measures tend to limit the development of the morning strength of its children?

Fixing our attention on Rome, the mistress of many nations, we are still unable to find that the void of national education was filled up; the mass of the people (including as in Athens, many slaves) was wholly without intellectual culture, and, when we reflect upon the cost of producing books in those days, we can scarcely wonder that the destructible materials used in schools were beyond the general reach.

In Rome, as a father had power over his children even to the extent of life, it is plain that education must primarily have been a domestic duty. There were schools however, and their importance was more and more acknowledged by great men, in proportion as the Empire extended its bounds, and its beneficial requirements rendered it more and more difficult for each to superintend the education of his children. Schoolmasters were not without respect in Rome, and the giant among her great men, the most soaring of her eagle troop, was not backward to declare his opinion of the high nature of a teacher's office. Cæsar granted the rights

of citizenship to schoolmasters, and Cicero's instructions to his son prove how earnestly he had reflected upon the importance of education. Cato, also, was careful to confer personally on his child that teaching which, in his opinion, was of such importance that it could not safely be entrusted to vicarious hands.

Inasmuch, however, as education was costly, it naturally resulted that it continued to be exclusive; and it was not until the days of Vespasian that public schools were fairly organized, and professorships of grammar and rhetoric, (the studies of the age) were formed, and had salaries annexed to them.

The number of these schools I am wholly without the means of tracing, but the character of the instruction they afforded there is no difficulty in ascertaining:—it was chiefly confined to the study of law, of grammar, rhetoric, poetry, and classical writers; the teachers appear to have been chosen by the magistrates of the towns. Such continued to be the course of education throughout the cities of the Roman Empire for many generations, and we find no complaints against it amongst writers, Pagan or Christian. Amongst the brightest ornaments of Christianity are to be found those who were educated in Imperial schools, so far as in them education was to be obtained, and who received from their parents and religious pastors that instruction which was of a purely religious character.

Constantine himself did not attempt to transfer to his adopted church the management of any secular matters: he introduced learned Christians to his palace, for the purpose of teaching the doctrines of Christianity to his sons, but he reserved to himself the province of instructing them also in the knowledge of mankind and the art of governing, and he invited to their aid professors of Roman law and Grecian philosophy.

In the church of those days, or, as it is called, the primi-

tive church, there were not under the rule of the clergy any schools of general instruction; and we cannot infer that the apostles or their disciples wished to have such schools; otherwise, when the Emperor became a convert, the foundation of such schools would have been concerted with him; it seems, however, that Christians were aware that their Master's kingdom was not of this world; and, though they studied rhetoric themselves, they did not assert their claim to modify or diminish the opportunities of others in studying, as occasion offered, the various branches of secular knowledge then extant.

The facts of Christianity seem not to have been looked upon as requiring iteration and re-iteration, so much as a hearty expression of faith; it was a high privilege to be enabled to hear them, and as their inculcation was in no way dependent upon the ordinary cultivation of intellect, the process of secular education neither retarded, nor was retarded by, the higher office of evangelism; in fact, the persecutions to which the early Christians were subject, are a sufficient testimony that in public schools their doctrines could not have been taught; yet, they *were taught* in those days, and perhaps more successfully than they have been subsequently.

After the conversion of Constantine, Christianity could be safely professed; and, accordingly, we find that Christians occupied public posts in almost all departments of the Empire, and could fearlessly teach their doctrines; some of the most learned amongst them, having been, as stated above, summoned by Constantine to assist in educating the royal family. The apostacy of one of that family deserves mention here, in order to enable me to allude to his subsequent dealings with regard to Christian teachers; and those dealings I allude to here, because they have been inadvertently misrepresented by the present Right Reverend Bishop of Sydney. It is well known that Julian, who had been a

Christian Catechumen, and had publicly read the Scriptures in the church at Nicomedia, was converted from Christianity to Paganism when about twenty years of age. On his accession to the throne he endeavoured, by all insidious, and some flagrant means, to quench the flame of Christianity, and make the Empire heathenish as himself. One of his laws was a prohibition of the teaching by Christians, the arts of grammar and rhetoric; and he, to use the words of Gibbon, "vainly contended that Christians ought to be contented with expounding the Gospels in the churches." His edict appears to have included the physicians and professors of all the liberal arts, and he himself reserved the right of approbation of candidates for the office of teacher, and "was authorised by the laws to corrupt, or to punish the religious constancy of the most learned among the Christians." "Then," continues Gibbon, "as soon as the resignation of the more obstinate teachers had established the rival dominion of the Pagan sophists, Julian invited the rising generation to resort with freedom to the public schools, in a just confidence that their tender minds would receive the impressions of literature and idolatry. If the greatest part of the Christian youth should be deterred by their own scruples, or by those of their parents, from accepting this dangerous mode of instruction, they must, at the same time, relinquish the benefits of a liberal education."

Now what object the Bishop of Sydney could have in making out Julian's conduct worse than it really was, I am at a loss to conceive. Had his Lordship been a person open to suspicion of unscrupulous motives, his meaning would be intelligible, though indefensible, for *he was speaking of the National system* of education, and, therefore, in exaggerating Julian's crimes, he was in effect condemning their asserted similitude. We cannot of course, suspect his Lordship of foul motives, and my duty is, therefore, without recrimination, to set him right as far as I may, by the above

historical reference. These were his Lordship's words, "Julian prohibited Christians from keeping any schools in which their Scriptures should be read, or the doctrines of their faith be explicitly or exclusively taught. * * * His professions were specious, but his real object was to undermine the Gospel; and this was the course he pursued as most effectual for his purpose. God forbid that I should impute any such purpose to those who now-a-days contend *in like manner* for a suppression and exclusion of all doctrinal teaching from our schools. They have, I am sure, no such intention; but yet, against their intention the effect may nevertheless follow."

Few minds can be so innocent of analysis as to tolerate a simile between Julian's Pagan Edict, and a system which has ever stipulated that its teachers shall be Christian, and that Christian ministers shall have free access to its pupils.

Concerning this unfair comparison I felt it necessary to forward to the paper in which the Bishop's speech was inserted, the following remarks, and I now transcribe them as a corollary to my present objection to the comparison he instituted. "I could have wished that the Bishop had been less equivocal in the terms he used with reference to the modern system of general education, and the tyrannical system of Julian the Apostate. Cursory readers may imagine that he reprobated both alike; a thing impossible—seeing that the Queen of England is the promoter of the National system, and is likewise the head of the Church of England, and, consequently, the fountain whence the Bishop derives his honour and his place. Now the first and second canons of the Church, the preamble to our Articles, and the 37th Article itself, lay down the principle that the "Queen's power is supreme, and that all ecclesiastical persons, having cure of souls, and all other preachers and readers of divinity lectures, shall, to the

utmost of their wit, knowledge, and learning, purely and sincerely, without any colour or dissimulation, teach, manifest, open and declare, four times every year at the least, that the (King's or) Queen's power in England, Scotland and Ireland, and all other, (his or) her dominions and countries is the highest power under God, to whom all men within the same owe most loyalty and obedience, afore and above all other powers and potentates in the earth."

It follows, therefore, that if the Bishop of Sydney were to oppose the National system, of which the Queen is a supporter, he would be virtually impugning the constitution of the church to which he belongs, which would be absurd. Doubtless if he thinks the Queen in error he may resign his place, or refuse to act in it, or he may by the constitutional method of petitioning, endeavour to effect a change in the matter in hand; but it is as clear as the noon-day sun, that he cannot consistently deny, in his place of Bishop, the very authority which has made him a Bishop; and that, too, of a Chnrch whose fabric is precluded by its constitution from existing in opposition to the law of the land."

These remarks are as applicable now as when I wrote them a year and a half ago, and therefore I insert them, though they form, perhaps, a tedious parenthesis.

The schemes of Julian perished with him. On the accession of Jovian, Christianity became again the religion of the court, and through many succeeding ages, Goth after Goth, and Vandal after Vandal, came into contact with the religion of the Bible, only to profess their allegiance to it; and after the end of the fourth century, when Symmachus became silent, and when the senate decided on the question submitted to them by Theodosius, whether Christianity or Paganism should be the religion of Rome, it may be said that the entire people became nominally Christian. I must not, however, pass over the conduct of Valentinian with respect to public schools.

I have already stated that Constantine gave no power to the clergy to interfere with public schools, and this fact, I may remark, arose in no manner from the absence of clerical persons, for they were sufficiently numerous to supply several hundred ecclesiastics to attend the cathedrals of Carthage and Constantinople.

The constitution of the schools founded by Valentinian in Rome and in Constantinople, is a proof that education was in his day still allowed to remain in the course prescribed in olden Scripture, and which, neither by our Saviour nor by his apostles, was recommended to be changed.

The professors of one of the above schools were thirty-one in number, and professed various branches of learning.

"One philosopher and two lawyers, five sophists, and ten grammarians for the Greek, and three orators and ten grammarians for the Latin tongue, besides seven scribes, or, as they were then styled antiquarians, whose laborious pens supplied the public library with fair and correct copies of the classic writers. The rule of conduct prescribed to the students, is the more curious, as it affords the first outlines of the form and discipline of a modern university. It was required that they should bring proper certificates from the magistrates of their native province. Their names, professions, and places of abode, were regularly entered in a public register. The studious youth were prohibited from wasting their time in feasts or in the theatre, and the term of their education was limited to the age of twenty. *The præfect of the city* was empowered to chastise the idle and refractory by stripes or expulsion; and he was directed to make an annual report to the master of the offices, that the knowledge and abilities of the scholars might be usefully employed to the public service." It is to be observed that the professors in the college were all selected for the inculcation of secular and general learning, and that the visitation of the establishment was controlled by the præfect of the city; but it must

not be imagined that forgetfulness induced Valentinian to eschew giving to the clergy the supervision of lay matters; he remembered them on fitting occasions—witness his celebrated edict, promulgated about the year 370, to restrain the vice of avarice, which had already invaded the clerical orders. This edict was ordered to be read, and *was read* in the churches. It admonished ecclesiastics and monks not to visit the houses of widows and virgins; and menaced their disobedience with the animadversion of the civil judge. The director was no longer permitted to receive any gift or legacy or inheritance, from the liberality of his spiritual daughter; every testament contrary to the edict was declared null and void; and the illegal donation was confiscated for the use of the treasury. "By a subsequent regulation," adds Gibbon, "it would seem that the same provisions were extended to nuns and bishops, and that all persons of the ecclesiastical order were rendered incapable of receiving any testamentary gifts. and strictly confined to the natural and legal line of inheritance."

Does the reader imagine that the Christian world was shocked at the impiety of the Emperor, who formed schools controlled directly by the state,—who legislated for the clergy in the mode I have cited—and who made the clergy read in their churches the law passed to control them?

Hear one of the Christian fathers himself! "Pudet dicere, sacerdotes idolorum, mimi et aurigæ, et scorta, hœreditates capiunt; solis clericis ac monachis hac lege prohibetur. Et non prohibetur a persecutoribus, sed a principibus Christianis. *Nec de lege queror; sed doleo cur meruerimus hanc legem.*"

But to resume:—the government of schools continued in the same hands for a considerable period after the time of Valentinian, and while the ordinary Imperial schools furnished the means of provincial education, the metropolitan schools did their part also, and the groves and academies

of Athens still attracted the wealthy and enquiring, to the venerated homes of ancient wisdom, where yet the God of song "O'er his own regions lingering, loved to shine."

It may, nevertheless, be easily imagined that the distracted state of the Empire which followed the invasions of the Goths, gradually rooted out most of the humanising influences of schools and other peaceful public institutions. Take the following description of the ravages which had been committed long before the standards of Attila or Alaric had been unfurled, and had been made the dreaded omen of evil to the degenerate and terror-smitten citizens of Rome.

"Et vastatis urbibus, hominibusque interfectis, solitudinem et raritatem bestiarum quoque fieri, et volatilium, pisciumque, testis Illyricum est, testis Thracia, testis in quo ortus sum solum (Pannonia), ubi præter cœlum et terram, et crescentes vepres, et condensa sylvarum, cuncta perierunt." —*St. Jerome.**

Schools gradually perished, learning became rare, and it might have been feared that in the universal din of arms, the love of letters would have been totally extinguished; but a fortunate contingency became to them the ark of salvation;

* "But not to delay ourselves in this speculation, the final settlement of barbarous nations in Gaul, Spain, and Italy, consummated the ruin of literature. Their first irruptions were uniformly attended with devastation; and if some of the Gothic Kings, after their establishment, proved humane and civilised sovereigns, yet the nation gloried in its original rudeness, and viewed with no unreasonable disdain, arts, which had neither preserved their cultivators from corruption, nor raised them from servitude. Theodoric, the most famous of the Ostrogoth Kings in Italy, could not write his name, and is said to have restrained his countrymen from attending those schools of learning, by which he, or rather perhaps his minister Cassiodorus, endeavoured to revive the studies of his Italian subjects. Scarcely one of the barbarians, so long as they continued unconfused with the native inhabitants, acquired the slightest tincture of letters; and the praise of equal ignorance was soon aspired to and attained by the entire mass of the Roman laity. They, however, could hardly have divested themselves so completely of all acquaintance with even the elements of learning, if the language in which books were written, had not ceased to be their natural dialect. This remarkable change in the speech of France, Spain, and Italy, is most intimately connected with the extinction of learning."—HALLAM'S MIDDLE AGES.

—the savages who despised the lustrous works of Grecian artists, trembled at the preaching of the Gospel, and the formation by slow degrees of the monastic shelters which were respected by the opposing warriors of different climes, gave not only to the living refugee a home in his need,* but enshrined the glorious creations of an elder time, until in after ages they again burst forth, from their dull shell, to illuminate the world.

When the whole known world was devastated by war, the arts of peace were well nigh extinguished; but still there was one order of men, ecclesiastics, who, devoted to religion and peace had leisure and shelter for their studies. The result was a monopoly of the knowledge of letters. The clergy (κληρικοι, or chosen by lot), came to be synonymous with men who could read and write; and only so lately as the reign of George the Fourth, the advantage of being able to write, technically called benefit of clergy (which could once redeem all culprits found guilty of felony), was finally abolished in England.—7 and 8 Geo. IV. c. 28.

Having now traced the eras of Grecian and Roman learning to the period of their apparent extinction, I shall reserve, for another chapter, the account of the mode in which a knowledge of letters was preserved and handed down to posterity.

I have abruptly drawn the curtain over the closing scenes of Roman literary institutions, but I have purposed to do so. I terminate this chapter with the introduction of the causes which ultimately swept away the old condition of things:—before those causes finally triumphed, a new order of events took place, of which the result was, to save in some degree the intellectual remains of the past, and to afford

* How must this right (of sanctuary) have enhanced the veneration for religious institutions! How gladly must the victims of internal warfare have turned their eyes from the baronial castle, the dread and scourge of the neighbourhood, to those venerable walls, within which not even the clamour of arms could be heard, to disturb the chaunt of holy men, and the sacred service of the altar! The protection of a sanctuary was never withheld.—Hallam's Middle Ages.

to the existing generation, an arena of intellectual development.

This new order of things, however, will appropriately form part of a fresh chapter, the object of which will be, in the first place, to explain how it was, that, though in the primitive church no authority in schools was claimed by the priest, yet in subsequent ages the church first received, (principally from Justinian,) and then claimed as her own, that right to which originally she made no pretensions.

CHAPTER III.

It is by no means improbable, that from the date at which Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, gratified the prejudices of his fellow-barbarians, by ridiculing the Romans, and declaring that the child who had trembled at a rod, would never dare to look upon a sword, the Imperial schools surely and rapidly declined; and even without the contempt of an Emperor, when we reflect that, before his reign, Rome had already been sacked by the Goths and by the Vandals, and that not only they, but other barbarians had ravaged province after province, and sacked town after town, destroying in their course the works and institutions of art and of peace, which they neither could use nor understand, we may readily sympathise with the plaint of Jerom, which even though exaggerated when uttered, was daily attempted to be rendered a reality; "præter cælum et terram, et crescentes vepres, et condensa sylvarum, cuncta perierunt."

The general policy of the barbarians being to seize two-thirds of the conquered lands, it is not difficult to perceive that the progress of civilisation was effectually arrested where they became masters, and had it not fortunately occurred that their religious or superstitious habits led them to reverence the ecclesiastical body, the state of the world might perhaps have become even gloomier than it was, in the times which truly and emphatically are termed "the dark ages." The retirement of the life of a monastery,

the zeal of Christians to perpetuate and multiply the records of their faith, the restlessness of the human mind which devoted itself to the mechanical transcription of numerous works which it did not even comprehend, and the veneration accorded to the religious profession, were all causes which combined to preserve the germ of literature from utter ruin in the disorderly centuries which followed the division, disruption, and decay of that great scheme of polity by which consular and imperial Rome had bound the civilised world in one.

Although the churchman might be a Roman, the barbarian who would have spurned a layman of such descent, withheld not the accustomed deference which now began to be claimed by the worldly-wise preachers of the Gospel:—if occasionally this respect was denied, as in the instance of the town of Brionde, where the sanctuary of a church was defiled by rapine, yet, as in that instance by Clovis, the plunder was probably generally restored, and the marauders were handed over to punishment.

Gibbon remarks that in Gaul "the haughty Franks fell prostrate at the feet of their subjects who were dignified with the episcopal character, and the power and riches which had been lost in war, were insensibly recovered by superstition." The Bishop of Tours thus records the complaint of Chilperic, the grandson of Clovis:—"Ecce pauper remansit Fiscus noster: ecce divitiæ nostræ ad ecclesias sunt translatæ: nulli penitus nisi soli Episcopi regnant."

The astuteness of Justinian did not fail to make use of the reverence entertained for the clergy, while at the same time he made the learning of the clergy themselves, subservient to the purposes of the languid and almost effete civil government of the provinces. As it was in his reign that the schools of Athens were finally suppressed, (having long declined from their magnificence) so it was in his reign that, by conferring numerous duties upon the clergy, and asso-

ciating them in the management of many secular matters, the empire allied to itself for a time, the strange power which the anathema of the priest now began to exercise upon the wayward fancies of unlettered nations.

As, however, I am loth to bring forward on my own unsupported assertion, a point of such vital importance to my theory as this part of my essay, I shall here quote rather largely from a course of lectures (on Civilisation in Europe), delivered by no less a man than Guizot, in his capacity as Professor of History in the University of Paris. Speaking of the period I now have in review, he says, "The bishops and clerks became the chief municipal magistrates. We have seen that the municipal system was, properly speaking, all that remained of the Roman Empire. From the annoyances of despotism, and the ruin of the towns, it came to pass that the 'curiales' or members of the municipal bodies, fell into despair and apathy." When this effect took place, of course the Imperial schools could not but decay, and the sequel will show that it was only by aid of the clergy, then almost the only learned persons, that schools of any kind could in future be supported.

"The bishops and the body of priests on the contrary, being full of life and zeal, naturally offered themselves to guard and direct affairs. It would be wrong to reproach them with officiousness, or to tax them with usurpation; they merely obeyed the natural impulse of events. The clergy alone were morally strong and animated, and they became powerful; the result is a law of the universe.* All the legislation of the Emperors at that epoch bears marks of this revolution. In the codes, both of Theodosius and Jus-

* Hallam says, in speaking of the ascendancy acquired by the Bishops and clergy, (about the 9th century),—"The Bishops acquired and retained a great part of their ascendancy by a very respectable instrument of power, intellectual superiority; they alone were acquainted with the art of writing; they were naturally entrusted with political correspondence, and with the framing of laws. They alone knew the elements of a few sciences:—the education of Royal Families devolved upon them as a necessary duty."

tinian, we find a great number of regulations which remit municipal affairs to the clergy and bishops. I will quote some of them: Cod. Just. lib. 1, tit. iv. de episcopali audientia s. 26. 'With regard to the annual affairs of the cities, (whether they refer to the ordinary city revenues, resulting either from funds from the city property, or from individual gifts or legacies, or from any other source, whether deliberation is required touching the public works, or magazines of provisions, or aqueducts, or the maintenance of baths or of harbours, or the construction of walls or towers, or the repairing of bridges or roads, or lawsuits in which the city may be engaged, on account of public or private interests,) we ordain as follows:—The very pious bishop, and three men of good fame amongst the chief men of the city, shall assemble together; they shall examine every year the works that have been performed, and they shall take care that those who conduct them, or have conducted them, do measure them with precision, give in accounts of them, and make it clear that they have fulfilled their engagements in the administration, whether it be of the public monuments, or of the sums appropriated to provisions and baths, or of what is expended for the repair of roads, aqueducts, or of any other work. *Ibid.* s. 30. *With regard to the guardianship of young people,* of the first and second age, and of all those to whom the law assigns curators, if their fortune does not exceed 500 'aurei,' we ordain *that the nomination of the President of the Province, shall not be waited for,* as it might have given rise to heavy charges, especially if the said President did not reside in the city, where the guardianship is required to be provided. *The nomination of the Curators or Tutors,* shall therefore be made *by the magistrates of the city, in concert with the most pious bishop, and other persons* invested with public functions, if the city possess several. *Ibid.* lib. 1. tit. lv. de defensoribus s. 8. We will that the defenders of the cities, being well instructed in the

holy mysteries of the orthodox faith, be chosen and instituted by the venerable bishops, the clerks, the notables, the proprietors, and the curiales. As to their installation, it shall be referred to the glorious power of the Præfect of the Prætorium, in order that their authority may gain more solidity and vigour from the admissory letters of his magnificence. I might cite a great number of other laws illustrative of the fact every where displayed, that between the Roman municipal system and the municipal system of the middle ages, an ecclesiastical municipal system interposed; that *the preponderance of the clergy in city affairs succeeded that of the old municipal magistrates*, and preceded the organization of the modern corporations.'

The following passages from the same lectures by Guizot, seem to demand insertion here, as showing that much as has been deserved by the clerical orders for what they have done towards education, their efforts were not of that character which can demand that the laity should be scrupulous in resuming to themselves a work so much calculated for their benefit, and which they have no temptation to abuse or to pervert.

"I do not believe that at the era in question, (from the 5th to the 12th century) the church concerned herself greatly about the development of the individual. * * * What it did was confined to the ecclesiastical society itself; it made great exertions for the development of the clergy and the instruction of priests; for them it had schools, and all the institutions which the deplorable state of society allowed. But they were ecclesiastical schools, appointed for the instruction of the clergy alone, and with their exception the church acted indirectly, and by slow means, towards the progress of ideas and manners." Again, "A survey of history from the 5th to the 16th century, exhibits theology possessing and directing the human understanding, and giving its impress to all opinions: philosophical, political,

and historical questions, were all considered under a theological point of view. The church was so supreme in the intellectual order, that even the mathematical and physical sciences were held to be subject to its doctrines." Again, "The church addressed herself to the barbarian kings, and besought them to declare themselves Roman Emperors, to assume all the rights formerly held by them, and to enter into the same relations with the church as she had had with the Roman Empire. It was especially to this point that the bishops of the 5th and 6th centuries laboured, and they imparted the general feature to the whole church. It was impossible for this attempt to succeed. There were no means among the barbarians to reconstitute the Roman Society. Like the civil world around it, therefore, the church itself fell into barbarism. That was its second state. When a comparison is made between the writings of the ecclesiastical chroniclers of the 8th century and those of the preceding ages, an immense difference is found. Every vestige of Roman civilization disappeared, even to the language, and barbarism was at its very acme. For on the one hand barbarians entered into the clerical order, and became priests and bishops, and on the other, bishops adopted the barbarian life, and without quitting their bishoprics, constituted themselves chiefs of banditti, roaming over the country, pillaging and fighting, like the companions of Clovis. Gregory, of Tours, mentions several bishops who passed their lives after this fashion. Two important facts nevertheless received their development in the bosom of this barbarian church. The first was the separation between the temporal and spiritual powers, which principle took its stand at that epoch as a natural state of things. The church not having succeeded in resuscitating the absolute power of the Roman Empire, so as to gain a share of it for herself, was driven to seek safety in independence. She was called upon to defend herself on every side, for she was incessantly

threatened. The bishops and priests saw their barbarian neighbours interfere every instant in the affairs of the church, in order to seize upon her riches, her land, and her power, and they had no other means of defending themselves than alleging—'The spiritual order is completely separated from the temporal, and you have no right to intervene in its affairs.' * This principle became a defensive weapon of the church against barbarism in all quarters." Again, in treating of the development of the monastic system, Guizot mentions the fact that the "monasteries were, during the barbarian epoch, places of asylum for the church, as she herself was a resort for refuge to the laity. Pious men flocked to them for shelter, as in the East they fled to the Thebaide, to escape a worldly life, and the contamination of Constantinople." Again, "Towards the end of the barbarian epoch, there was a new attempt to resuscitate the Roman Empire, made by Charlemagne. The church and the civil sovereign contracted once more a strict alliance. It was a period of great docility, and, therefore, of great advancement to the Papacy. The attempt at resuscitation again failed; the

* Contrast this with a subsequent declaration of Ecclesiastical privileges in the Decretals collected by Gratian (A.D. 1140):—

"Constitutiones principum ecclesiasticis constitutionibus non præeminent, sed obsequuntur,"—Decret. Distinct 10.

"Quæcunque a principibus in ordinibus vel in ecclesiasticis rebus decreta inveniuntur, nullius auctoritatis esse monstrandum."—Decretum distinct. 96.

"Juramentum contra utilitatem ecclesiasticum præstitum non tenet."—Decretals, li. ii. tit. 24, c. 27.

Contrast also this declaration made by Pope Innocent III., A D. 1194:—

"As the sun and the moon are placed in the firmament, the greater as the light of the day, and the lesser of the night; thus there are two powers in the church; the Pontifical, which as having the care of souls, is the greater; and the royal, which is the less, and to which the bodies of men only are trusted."

When the legislation of Justinian and the edict of Valentinian (mentioned in the last chapter), have been fairly contrasted with the assumption now quoted, the reader will well understand why it was that, in order to vamp up a case, the false Decretals of Isidore Mercator were concocted. The very circumstance of an imposture having been attempted, sufficiently demonstrates that except by recourse to deception, ecclesiastical pretensions to temporal power and secular interference, were looked upon as untenable, even in the darkest ages; and the value of such pretensions, after discovery and exposure of the imposture, may well be noted as at the lowest possible point of historical credulity.

Empire of Charlemagne fell, but the advantages that the church had drawn from its alliance had remained with her. * * * After the death of Charlemagne, chaos came again, the church relapsed into it as well as civil society, and emerged in like manner to enter into the frame of feudalism."

I need not here follow Monsieur Guizot in his subsequent train of reflections, but I may remark in passing, that we can scarcely wonder at the ignorance which prevailed after the barbarian inroads; I have already enumerated the principle causes, and I will add that, as the Roman language fell into desuetude amongst the governors of the earth, there was an absence of the mechanical machinery of which use might be made by students; the barbaric tongues were unsettled and confused, and wanted that literary finish which was acquired by the Greeks and Latins in their intellectual epochs; and the barbarians were notorious for despising the acquisition of those languages in which alone at that day were to be found the means of mental refinement, but which, even in that day, had been sealed with the stamp which has consigned them to the "tomb of the Capulets," amongst the dialects of the human race. But it may be alleged that in quoting from Guizot who is a Protestant, I have acted unfairly:—let me then correct the existing deficiency by quoting from a Roman Catholic, who gives the following graphic summary of the times of which I have already cited Guizot's opinion. "I shall not stop to draw a picture of the horrid ignorance in which Europe was buried. We blush for our ancestors, and lament the brutal debasement of the human mind. If there be any persons so uncandid as to calumniate science because it is sometimes abused, let them at least compare this abuse with the endless mischiefs produced by ancient barbarism. So many prejudices destructive of civil order, of the rights of mankind, humanity, decency, and virtue; so many shameful errors established as certain truths; so many obstinate contentions for frivolous opinions;

so many citizens sacrificed; so many states overthrown by the influence of false principles:—if they dissemble these mischiefs, they are guilty of dishonesty; if they are not acquainted with them, history speaks, and truth is triumphant." Again, "At last every thing was, for a time, sunk in the most dreadful confusion. The bishops and abbots, metamorphosed into barons, adopted the military life, and engaged in wars; held councils after acting as generals, and introduced the genius of temporal dominion, into the exercise of spiritual power. Church censures, the end of which was to convert sinners, became a formidable instrument for the defence of lands, the existence of privileges, and sometimes unjust pretensions. The clerks, who alone preserved some faint tincture of letters, scarce more than the knowledge of reading and writing, by that means erected themselves into a tribunal, where they judged all affairs by maxims unknown to antiquity. * * To impute these abuses to religion, is impious and absurd; for when freed from its trammels, it bore witness against them, and furnished means for their reformation."—*L'Abbé Millot's Universal History.*

The above extracts, more especially those from the Code of Justinian, are explicit enough upon the point, that the powers of the clergy in secular matters were delegated to them by the civil authority, and were so delegated, principally, as a matter of convenience. But that which is delegated may be reclaimed, and, therefore, the interference of the clerical body in political and secular matters was such as could be at any time dispensed with, on the *motu proprio* of the originally delegating power. This maxim is obvious enough, but lest it should be disputed, I will adduce the high, if not infallible authority of Pope Gregory VI., who declared to the Romans, (then in a tumult,) that what at one time might reasonably be granted, might at another be reasonably taken away.

It must by no means be imagined, however, that those

Emperors who gave laws to churchmen in political matters, were disobedient to the church, in things spiritual; the same Theodosius who governed churchmen as his subjects, was obedient to them as his ghostly advisers, and did penance at the behest of Ambrose, Archbishop of Milan.

Cæsar enjoyed Cæsar's prerogatives, but claimed no immunity in matters which were not secular.

When we remember that Justinian had destroyed the schools of Athens, and that it was his policy to throw power and patronage into the hands of ecclesiastics, who, indeed, were not backward (if St. Jerome's confession was veracious as regarded the edict of Valentinian in the matter of mortmain,) to accept the gifts of wealth or power,* we cannot be surprised to find that shortly after the time of Justinian, all traces of the Imperial schools were worn away, that for a time darkness brooded over the intellect of man, and that (as glanced at in the end of the last chapter) the hopes of the future, and the creations of the past, seemed likely to be absorbed in one wild turmoil of successful barbarism.

But this was not to be;—religion was perverted, knowledge was clouded,—but the germ of both was preserved in the cloister's gloom, and waited but the fulness of time, to be expanded in ample shelter over the earth, as the waters cover the sea.

Here, therefore, having traced in some degree the mode of decadence of the ancient learning, and the origin of the new, I shall resume the narrative which I have had occasion to diverge from at the end of the second chapter.

The clergy were, however ignorant in the mass, peculiarly the men of letters in the age I speak of; and they did not fail to establish schools; these schools were preserved almost

* The reader of English history will not fail to remember that the provisions of Valentinian's Edict were embodied in the various Acts which Edward I. promulgated to restrain alienation in mortmain, and the mode of recovery, by which the statute of mortmain was sought to be eluded; and also the subsequent Statute of Richard II., by which the further subterfuges of use and trust, were brought within the pale of the English Justinian's several enactments.

entirely for religious purposes, but they were allowed also to be made use of by a favoured few of the lay public; of the rich who could munificently contribute in worldly substance, as well as of the poor who could render thanks only in their devotions.* But though these schools were not open, either as a matter of right or convenience, to the public, they did good service, in the abstract, to the world at large, by giving leisure for students and safety for the objects of study. Connected as these schools were, with the church, they were generally attached to an episcopate, or to a cathedral, but occasionally there were also what we may call parochial schools; and in all of them the seven liberal arts, viz.—grammar, logic, and rhetoric, (which formed the *trivium*,) together with arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music, (called the *quadrivium*,) were professedly taught;† though, as I have already mentioned, aspirants for the clerical order formed the bulk of the scholars, and they, again, became gradually so eager in doctrinal disputations, that learning served for a time as the mere exponent of the metaphysical subtleties of fanciful minds.

In those days, as in the present, it may be depended upon that the worthiest labourers in the vineyard, were not those

* "When Latin had thus ceased to be a living language, the whole treasury of knowledge was locked up from the eyes of the people. The few who might have imbibed a taste for literature if books had been accessible to them, were reduced to abandon pursuits that could only be cultivated through a kind of education not easily within their reach. Schools confined to cathedrals and monasteries, and exclusively designed for the purposes of religion, afforded no encouragement or opportunities to the laity. The worst effect was, that, as the newly formed languages were hardly made use of in writing, Latin being still preserved in all legal instruments and public correspondence, the very use of letters, as well as of books, was forgotten.

"For many centuries, to sum up the account of ignorance in a word, it was rare for a layman, of whatever rank, to know how to sign his name. Their charters, till the use of seals became general, were subscribed with the mark of the cross. Still more extraordinary was it to find any one who had a tincture of learning. A few signatures to deeds appear in the fourteenth century; in the next they are more frequent. The Emperor Frederic Barbarossa could not read; nor John, King of Bohemia, in the fourteenth century; nor Philip the Hardy, King of France, although the son of St. Louis."—HALLAM'S MIDDLE AGES.

† "In those ages scarcely any body mastered the latter four, and to be perfect in the three former was exceedingly rare."—HALLAM'S MIDDLE AGES.

who endeavoured to be received in the faith for the mere purpose of introducing doubtful disputations; but "the good" of the pious evangelist of those days, has, in very many instances, "been interred with his bones," as far as worldly reputation is concerned, while the tinkling cymbal of a contemporary has been made audible through the changes of centuries.

There is still extant a compendium which was published in the end of the 5th century, by Marcius Capella, and which was for many centuries the text-book of schools, though its recommendation consisted chiefly in the absence of a rival work.

The popularity of the course of the *trivium* gradually attached the epithet "trivial" to the schools in which it was taught, and which, throughout the sixth century, retained their supremacy, but gave way in their turn to the conventual schools, established primarily for the training of neophytes for the monastic life, but subsequently made in some degree applicable to neighbouring wants.

Many of the conventual schools enjoyed a very distinguished reputation; they sprung up, not only on the continent of Europe, but in the British Isles, and we may enumerate the schools of Canterbury, York, Armagh, Clogher, and Westminster, as co-eval, if not co-equal with the celebrated schools of Paris, Tours, Rheims, Clermont, Salzburg, Ratisbon, and the Schwarzwald, and many other continental schools of the era under notice. The most famous of these institutions were the Benedictine convents, and their inmates were often men distinguished in, but disgusted with, the world, who retired, to devote their time, fortunes, and energy, in support of their new fraternity and profession: which, owing to these and other causes incidental to a state of comparative isolation from the world, gave that tone to the intellectual acquirements and labours of the day, which is usually called scholastic. A glance at the literature

of the time will show how little advance, or rather how much retrogression was attained by the human mind, in the several centuries succeeding the dissolution of the Imperial schools; but it is satisfactory to reflect, that the monks often busied themselves in copying what they did not understand, and thus saved for future ages, works of more value than the whole original genius of the world, in those days of palimpsest and recitation, would have been able to produce. It is true that a wrong word was occasionally written, (as when an honest monk in writing the twenty-fifth verse of the ninth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, altered the word "sporta" to "porta," alleging as his reason, that sporta was a hard word, and not in his dictionary,) but still the multiplicity of copies could not fail to afford means to rectify all, or nearly all, such clerical mistakes, and the existence of the Scriptures in several languages has not failed to complete the task of emendation. The debt of posterity to the convents and monasteries should, therefore, be cheerfully paid in heartfelt gratitude for that which they did, the good effects of which we now may reap; while as regards their influence, in a manner which the world has long disowned, posterity may be warned, but need not suffer. An annunciation like the following, would, perhaps, find few bishops to give it currency, and would require the immaterial logic of a Newman to be long bestowed upon it, without proving that it contains either truth or religion; though it must be admitted to enforce the virtue of obedience broadly enough, if complied with, to ensure prosperous church government. It is an address made by Eligius, Bishop of Noyon, a saint of the seventh century. "Redeem your souls from punishment, while you have it in your power; offer your tithes and free gifts; contribute towards the luminaries (the wax candles) in holy places: repair frequently to church, and humbly implore the protection of the saints. If you observe those things, you may boldly appear at God's tribunal in the

day of judgment, and say, '*Give, Lord, according as we have given.*' "*

Persuaded as I am that the above impiety will be sympathised with by no Christian of the present day, I trust it will not be imputed to me that I have quoted it as an accusation against any particular church in France, or elsewhere; it is a scandalous instance of ignorance in the speaker and in his auditory; and as such I quote it. In the day of its promulgation, it was the custom for scholars to recite aphorisms of a similar kind repeatedly, as a whet to their devotion; and having served to such an use, it is not unreasonable now that the *then* pious bishop's adjuration should be looked upon in its true deformity.

It is a long night of gloom that interposes between the irruptions of the barbarians and the dawn of the present cycle of civilization, and I cannot condense in this section the remarks I have to make upon it, or upon the occasional flashes which unaided master-minds darted forth into the void.

* "With such a definition of the Christian character, it is not surprising that any fraud and injustice became honourable when it contributed to the riches of the clergy and glory of their order. Their frauds, however, were less atrocious than the savage bigotry with which they maintained their own system, and infected the laity. * * * At Beziers a usage prevailed of attacking the Jews' houses with stones from Palm Sunday to Easter. No other weapon was to be used; but it generally produced bloodshed. The populace were regularly instigated to the assault by a sermon from the Bishop. At length a prelate, wiser than the rest, abolished this ancient practice,—but not without receiving a good sum from the Jews."—HALLAM'S MIDDLE AGES.

CHAPTER IV.

In the end of the eighth century we find a far-seeing hero, who, though ignorant himself, directed his efforts not less to the cultivation of the human mind, than to the extension of his Empire. It was the labour of love with Charlemagne to place within reach of all his subjects, a general facility of study: which, at his accession, did not exist in any part of his dominions.

He could not even write conveniently, (for the historian tells us "tentabat et scribere * * * sed parum prospere successit labor præposterus et sere inchoatus") yet he founded a shelter for learning at court, in the country, and in the towns.

The bishop's see, the convent, and the parish, were bound to provide schools for clergymen, for public officers, and for the poor; and the Emperor himself took no shame in attending at the school which he had founded under his own cognizance, and of which the chief contemplated utility was the instruction of the youthful nobility, and of those within the precincts and influence of the court.

It may be recorded with honest satisfaction that an Englishman was the rector of the academy thus created by Charlemagne, and one may imagine that for a time, the gathering of the learned at his court was hailed as an omen of the resurrection of that spirit of enquiry and understanding, without which man becomes as a brute, and recog-

nizes not the pearls which a kind Providence has showered about his path.

The ladies of Charlemagne's court did not spurn the task of learning the polite Latin tongue, and under their auspices schools were established for the benefit of the fair.

Charlemagne occasionally became Inspector of the Empire Schools, and personally examined the reports which were furnished by the rectors; and by these means he was enabled to distinguish and promote the naturally-gifted among his subjects.

But the good work was stayed; and the efforts of Charlemagne, together with the rival if not superior achievments of Alfred in England, were doomed to be made of little effect. In spite of all the difficulties which attended a stern struggle for a disordered inheritance, such is the indomitable spirit which actuates the truly great, that no sooner had Alfred seated himself on his throne, than he commenced to found schools, if not colleges, and to furnish security against wrong to each of his subjects, under an upright and intelligible system of laws.

It is worthy of observation, that though Alfred has given us the celebrated watchword of mental and material independence:—"It is just that Englishmen should be free as their own thoughts," he did not think that parents were justifiable in withholding their children from school, and he made it compulsory on him who could employ one plough, to provide instruction for his child.

The efforts which Charlemagne and Alfred made, can only fairly be appreciated when we consider the scanty assistance they could use, and the dull materials they had to work upon, at the respective times in which the one succeeded to, and the other redeemed the sceptre of his country.

After anticipating the fact that in the tenth century, a Bishop of Verona complained that many of the clergy in his diocese were ignorant of the Apostles' Creed (the bishop

does not seem to have considered that the understandings of the laity were in any manner in his charge, or seems not to have felt for them,) let me adduce the following instance of the ignorance which Charlemagne endeavoured to remove :—

" L' ignorance etait alors si prodigieuse, qu'on exigeait des prêtres, comme une chose peu commune qu'ils pussent *entendre l'oraison dominicale ! ! !*"

Let not my reader, if I have one, think that I am imposing on his credulity, by quoting the rash statement of an unscrupulous partizan. The assertion is from a standard French work,—a History of France by L' Abbé Millot,—and, indeed, it ought to require the authority of a churchman to defend an allegation that it was found necessary to compel priests to understand the Lord's Prayer, when we reflect that they did not in the mean time scruple to officiate in all the mysteries of religion.

The Abbe is not reticent of the faults of the times, however. He says elsewhere—" Un des principaux obstacles au bien, est que depuis long temps, les princes s'ingérent plus qu'ils ne devraient dans les affaires ecclesiastiques, et que le clergé, soit par cupidité ou par ignorance, s' occupe plus qu'il ne convient des affaires séculières." Again, " Un tribunal de l' inquisition établi par un concile de Toulouse défense aux laiques d' avoir chez eux l' Ecriture Sainte : on le permet seulement le Pseautier et le Breviaire pourvu qu'ils soient en Latin ;—c'est à dire, dans une langue qu'ils n'entendaient pas."

In this last sentence the Abbe's dry manner may perhaps be construed as an approval of the interdict; I therefore leave it without further comment from myself, lest I should wrong the author.

His statement of the ignorance of the clergy, in and about the time of Charlemagne, is corroborated by the evidence of a writer, (William of Malmesbury,) whose father accompanied William the Norman to England, and who, in

characterizing the learning of the age, says, "The clergy, contented with a very slight degree of learning, could scarcely stammer out the words of the sacrament, and a person who understood grammar was an object of wonder and astonishment.* Seeing that the clergy had the undivided care of the Education which produced these results, it is surely no great presumption on the part of the laity to exercise a little watchfulness now in rearing their children: even tigers guard their young to the best of their ability.

To remove the ignorance thus complained of, (when, as we have seen, even amongst those who were called learned, there was no understanding of what they recited,) more than one wise reign was needed; but in France the broils of foolish descendants, and in England the Danish invasions, swept away the bulwarks which had been temporarily thrown around the shrines of literature.

Providence still protected the needful seed, however, and on the road side and rocky places were to be seen the scattered instances of vitality. The schools of the Rabbin in Syria, Africa, and even in Europe, (witness Lunel, Cordova, and one or two other places,) preserved some remains of learning; and the Arabian schools, in Asia, Africa, and Spain, made to the world, what at this distance in time,

* "Of this prevailing ignorance it is easy to produce abundant testimony. Contracts were made verbally for want of notaries capable of drawing up charters; and these, when written, were frequently barbarous and ungrammatical to an incredible degree.

"For some considerable intervals, scarcely any monument of literature has been preserved, except a few jejune chronicles, the vilest legends of saints, or verses equally destitute of spirit and metre. In almost every council the ignorance of the clergy forms a subject for reproach. It is asserted in one held in 992, that scarcely a single person was to be found in Rome itself, who knew the first elements of letters. Not one priest of a thousand in Spain, about the age of Charlemagne, could address a common letter of salutation to another. In England Alfred declares that he could not recollect a single priest, south of the Thames, (the most civilized part of England,) at the time of his accession, who understood the ordinary prayers, or could translate Latin into his mother-tongue. Nor was this better in the time of Dunstan, when, it is said, none of the clergy knew how to write or translate a Latin letter."—HALLAM'S MIDDLE AGES.

seems some compensation for all the secular evils which the fiery Moor meted out to his enemy. The wonder with which a clock (striking the hours) was looked upon in the French Court is still the matter of well-known tale; and the gift of the science of numbers, applicable as it has been made to the abstrusest researches of the greatest minds, came to Europe under the despised and abhorred banner of the infidel; and it is, to use the language of Stillingfleet, an "insufferable catachresis," to allege that laymen shall not teach or control the study of a science which was permitted by Providence to be introduced under not only lay, but infidel auspices;—laymen ask not the control of spiritual doctrine, and they may fairly demand liberty in physical enquiries, especially when they reflect that under Providence it has happened that those enquiries have, when most freely prosecuted, proved most beneficial.

In the age I speak of, the superiority of the Arabic doctors was candidly acknowledged by the literary. At Salerno, Montpelier, and Seville, and in many other places, Arabic teachers expounded the mathematical and arithmetical works of the Saracens, and were eagerly listened to by the enquiring.* Pope Sylvester II. was wise enough to avail

* The metaphysics of Aristotle were introduced through translations from the Arabic, and perhaps also from the Greek early in the thirteenth century.....It was not only a knowledge of Aristotle that the scholastics derived from the Arabic language.....Early in the twelfth century, several persons, chiefly English, had brought into Europe some of the Arabian writings in geometry and physics. In the thirteenth, the works of Euclid were commented upon by Campans; and Roger Bacon was fully acquainted with them. Algebra, so far as the Arabians knew it, extending to quadratic equations, was actually in the hands of some Italians, at the commencement of the same age, and preserved for almost three hundred years as a secret, though without any conception of its importance. As abstract mathematics require no collateral aid, they may reach the highest perfection in ages of general barbarism; and there seems to be no reason why, if the course of study had been directed that way, there should not have arisen a Newton or a La Place, instead of an Aquinas or an Ockham. The knowledge displayed by Roger Bacon, and by Albertus Magnus, even in the mixed mathematics, under every disadvantage, from the imperfection of instruments, and the want of recorded experience, are sufficient to inspire us with regret, that their contemporaries were more inclined to astonishment than emulation.

These enquiries, indeed, were subject to the ordeal of fire, the great purifier of

himself of the advantages which the Arabs could confer, and he not only studied under them in Spain, but endeavoured to transplant to Italy the new growth of science which he had himself learned to appreciate. He was, however, looked upon with suspicion by his contemporaries, who suspected him of necromancy, and frustrated, in a considerable degree, the good which might have been ensured by a more general spread of truth. The efforts of the Oriental nations at the time of European darkness may be estimated by one instance of munificence at Bagdad. A vizir there devoted two hundred thousand pieces of gold to the foundation of a college, and endowed it with an annual income of fifteen thousand dinars.

Thus fostered, the intellect of man asserted its dignity, and we owe to the enquiries of the East in those days, much of the benefits which a knowledge of medicine, and of the exact sciences, has conferred upon the whole human race.*

We have noticed that the civilizing attempts of Pope Sylvester II. were not met willingly by his compeers, and, we may now observe, that the aversion of the clerical body at large to the advancement of the human mind, produced, as is usual, a spirit of re-action. The study of the canon and civil laws came into fashion at the period of the discovery of the long lost Pandects at Amalfi;† (I am aware

books and men; for if the metaphysician stood a chance of being burned as a heretic, the natural philosopher was in not less jeopardy as a magician.—HALLAM'S MIDDLE AGES.

* When the son of a person of wealth is intended to acquire a knowledge of the healing art, is he not sent to the ablest physician from whom instruction can be obtained? And what reason is there for placing a ban upon human acquisitions in arithmetic, history, mathematics, grammar, or logic? If only a Roman Catholic bootmaker in the city could make good boots, ought Her Majesty's Protestant subjects to go wet-footed rather than resort to a disciple of Rome? And why should the mind suffer what the body repels? We see that much secular learning originated otherwise than from the clergy, and why should we discontinue a system which was sanctioned by overruling Omnipotence?

† "This fact, though not improbable, seems not to rest upon sufficient evidence. But its truth is the less material, as it appears to be unequivocally proved that the

that it is doubted by some, whether the Pandects were really discovered by the Pisans, in the manner generally believed, but it cannot be denied that the zest for law studies was almost synchronous with the date ascribed by the popular report;) and the gradual decay of the purely clerical, or cathedral and conventual schools, gave an impulse to the awakened curiosity of man; to which concurrent causes we may attribute the foundation in the twelfth century of universities. Of these institutions, that of Bologna was, perhaps the first, and it received from the Emperor Frederick I. various academical privileges, as early as in the year 1158. Paris, Padua, Toulouse, Montpelier, Cambridge, Oxford, Naples, Rome, Prague, Salamanca, and many other towns, now began to take a stand,

study of Justinian's system had recommenced before that era."—HALLAM'S MIDDLE AGES.

From the time (1140) at which the various Decretals of the Popes were collected by Gratian, the study of the civil and canon laws became in a remarkable manner collateral, and mutually intertwined, the tribunals governed by either of them borrowing their rules of decision from the other in cases where their peculiar jurisprudence was silent, or of dubious interpretation.

"About the time of Henry III. and Edward I., the civil law had acquired some credit in England; but a system entirely incompatible with it had established itself in our courts of justice; and the Roman jurisprudence was not only soon rejected, but became obnoxious.

"Every where, however, the clergy combined its study with that of their own canons; it was a maxim that every canonist must be a civilian, and that no one could be a good civilian, unless he was also a canonist. In all universities, degrees are granted in both laws conjointly; and in all courts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the authority of Justinian is cited, when that of Gregory or Clement is wanting. ...

"The stream of literature which has so remarkably altered its channel within the last century, has left no region more deserted than that of the civil and canon law. Except among the immediate disciples of the Papal court, or perhaps in Spain, no man, I suppose throughout Europe, will ever undertake the study of the one; and the new legal systems which the moral and political revolutions of this age have produced, and are likely to diffuse, will leave little influence or importance to the other. Yet, as their character, so their fate will not be altogether similar. The canon law, fabricated only for an usurpation that can never be restored, will become absolutely useless, as if it had never existed; like a spacious city in the wilderness, though not so splendid and interesting as Palmyra. But the code of Justinian, stripped of its impurer alloy, and of the tedious glosses of its commentators, will form the basis of other systems, and mingling, as we may hope, with the new institutions of philosophical legislators, continue to influence the social relations of mankind, long after its direct authority shall have been abrogated. The ruins of ancient Rome supplied the materials of a new city; and the fragments of her law, which have already been wrought into the recent codes of France and Prussia, will, probably, under other names, guide far distant generations by the sagacity of Modestinus and Ulpian."—HALLAM'S MIDDLE AGES.

as containing a nucleus to which surrounding students might be attracted; it is true that many of these places have earned a more venerable reputation, and the first establishment of universities in some of them, has been even placed as far as back as the eighth and ninth centuries; but strictly speaking, and having reference to the peculiar privileges of universities, we shall find that it was not until the twelfth century that the distinctive character of such an institution had been even recommended.

It is quite possible, however, that the origin of the universities wherever they arose, was a previous school, or college of reputation, and thus the foundation of each of them may have been laid at periods considerably antecedent to those in which the historian finds them with a "local habitation and a name."*

Until the end of the twelfth century, though Paris may have abounded in teachers, as much as the state of the times permitted, and those teachers may have regulated their own manners by peculiar regulations, the government of the country was not pledged in any manner to countenance them. At that date the scholars and their instructors formed themselves into a corporation, and grants of immunity were made to them by the King.

So highly esteemed were the exemptive privileges which the University of Paris possessed, that upon occasion of an insult offered to them in 1229, and not redressed by the court, large numbers of students deserted the city and

* "None of the public academies or schools of philosophy, grew so early into reputation as that of Paris. This cannot, indeed, as has been vainly pretended, trace its pedigree to Charlemagne. The first who is said to have read lectures at Paris, was Remigius of Auxerre, about the year 900. For the next two centuries the history of this school is very obscure; and it would be hard to prove an unbroken continuity, or at least a dependence or connexion of its professors. In the year 1100, we find William of Champeaux teaching logic, and apparently some higher parts of philosophy with much credit. But this preceptor was eclipsed by his disciple, afterwards his rival and adversary, Peter Abelard, to whose brilliant and hardy genius the University of Paris appears to be indebted for its rapid advancement. In 1452, the number of students at Paris was asserted to be twenty-five thousand."—HALLAM'S MIDDLE AGES.

betook themselves to neighbouring countries in which they hoped to find more respectful treatment.

Many of them were young men of distinguished and wealthy families, and, consequently, so sudden a secession was felt as an injury to the metropolis: they were solicited to return, and principally through the intervention of Pope Gregory IX. they were induced to do so, whereupon their previous privileges were acquiesced with, and increased advantages were conferred upon them.

Before I glance at the peculiar constitution of the primary Universities of Europe, I will, in order to illustrate the appalling ignorance of the times, quote from a book, published in Rome, in the thirteenth century, the following description of that city; and it may well be granted that popular learning, whether we consider the teachers or the taught, was in a dangerous position, when in the ancient metropolis of the world, and on a spot where the Christian religion was professed, and sumptuously supported, the following absurdities were put forth, with the gravity of truth, under authority:—

"The capitol is so named as being the head of the world, where the consuls and senators formerly resided, for the government of the city and the globe. The strong and lofty walls were covered with glass and gold, and crowned with a roof of the richest and most curious carving. Below the citadel stood a palace of gold, for the greatest part decorated with precious stones, and whose value might be esteemed at one third of the world itself. The statues of all the provinces were arranged in order, each with a small bell suspended from its neck; and such was the contrivance of art and magic, that if the province rebelled against Rome, the statue turned round to that quarter of the heavens, the bell rung, the prophet of the capitol reported the prodigy, and the senate was admonished of the impending danger."

With such notions of historical truth, we need scarcely

regret that the age was by no means diligent in educating the popular mind; nor need we wonder at finding that the peculiar bent of monastic desire was gratified rather by an exquisitely illuminated missal, than by the moral culture of thousands of plebeian minds:—transcription was the chief occupation of the scholars in the trivial schools, and writing was considered so valuable an art, that in the few parish schools extant, it was often forbidden to the people to learn to write, lest the vulgarity of the practice should prove destructive to the gainful trade of those who monopolised it: and it thus transpired that only by special agreement of the magistrates with the clergy, could the privilege of establishing a writing school be obtained.* I have met more than one advocate of the Denominational system in these colonies who has asserted that such a condition of subserviency is far better than National Education. I know no National School advocates who would not prefer Denominational schools to none at all, and I may be pardoned for saying, that as we have manifestly the advantage of our opponents on the score of charity, so we may fairly presume that we are as little deserted by truth, as by the greatest of the Christian virtues.

Municipal bodies, however, began to learn their rights, as well as to perform their duties, and they founded schools, over which, though parish and other resident priests did not preside, there could yet be called itinerant monks and students to rule for a time. By these teachers, reading, writing, and the trivium were taught; and the requirements of the schools gradually called into existence a race of teachers, roving dissolutely from place to place, and letting out their talents to the highest bidder. It may easily be imagined that, the superior temptations of church preferment, and the

* When Pius IX, returned to Rome after the late Revolution, he abrogated many laws enacted by the short-lived Republic, of 1849, and the English papers accused him amongst other things of making a law to prevent any girls in the Papal States from learning to write without special permission; he permitted them to learn to sew, and to repeat and read their devotions.

fact that, generally speaking, these wandering students were only called in as subordinate aids to the head masters in the larger cities, prevented a very high order of men being found ministering in support of this hap-hazard mode of procuring for the people the means of learning. Nor, indeed, was it among the general mass, that even this education extended its influence. The rich were those who could command its advantages, not only in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but up to a date much nearer the present time. Doubtless there was much learning among a few;—the scholastic ages though they boast not a mind like that of the author of the Novum Organum, the intellectual giant who overthrew their fortifications and scattered their enchantments, can, nevertheless, claim credit for many names which are bright in the page of history. Roscelin, Anselm, Peter Lombard, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Acquinas, Duns Scotus, Luther, Reuchlin, Abelard, Melancthon, Ramus, Erasmus, and many others, not forgetting him who was called "irrefragable," must be confessed to have won, even from their adversaries, the meed of much learning astutely applied.

As I am about to speak of Universities, I am aware that I am guilty of an anachronism, in passing to the sixteenth century, but I wish to point out now, by one example of a school in that era, how confined was the scope of the education then given, and it was certainly more extended then, than in the preceding centuries.

Valentine Friedland Trotzendorf, taught at Goldberg in the sixteenth century, and obtained considerable reputation; and so rare were then the advantages of good schools, that there were sent to him, from the neighbouring nations, scores of the children of the rich and titled: he taught more than a thousand scholars, (many of them being of distinguished families, and from foreign countries,) and Melancthon says of him, "quem ad regendas scholas non minus natum, quam ad

regenda castra Scipionem olim Africanum puto." Little indeed could the bulk of the poor profit by an education, which thus, by competition of the rich, if not in any other way, was sure to be wrested from them. From the school of Trotzendorf, which might almost deserve a grander designation, I shall now briefly turn to advert to the fundamental regulations which were introduced in the universities whose rise into distinction took place, as I have already observed, in the thirteenth century.

The first teachers in them had obtained no commission from the state formally recognising their office. Abelard, in Paris, and Irnerius, in Bologna, ascended by tacit consent into the chair, and perhaps performed equivalent duties to those of a regularly ordained professor, but it soon became manifest that some acknowledged mode of obtaining academical honors was required. Examinations were instituted, and under sanction of the state, various orders were formed:—*Baccalaureus, licentiatus,* and *magister*:—on obtaining which last step, the student not only earned the cap of master, but ranked with his former teachers, and shared their privileges. The occasions of conferring these honours were called *promotiones;* and they were held in Bologna, as in Paris, but in the former place the title *doctor* corresponded with the term *magister* in the latter. The repetition of these *promotiones,* and the emulation they excited, caused other faculties besides that of the seven liberal arts (or *facultas artium*) to be created; and about the year 1259, the three other faculties of the clergy, law, and medicine were founded. A junction of the mendicant orders and the secular clergy conduced to create the faculty of theology, and the teachers of canon law followed the example of founding a distinct profession, as did also the professors of medicine. Previous to this division of professions the universities had, however, been divided into what were called "nations," a distinction still existing, but originally ordained for convenience of

students from different countries, rather than to form any arbitrary differences amongst the people, or in the privileges of the country in which the university was situated.

The time of this division as originally fixed upon, is not known. In 1169 it existed in the University of Paris; and in the last year of the twelfth century, Philip Augustus granted the University a charter, four nations being *then* established there:—viz., French, (which included Italians and Spanish,) Picard, Norman, and English, the last named comprehending Germans, and all natives of the northern part of Europe. The German and Italian universities extant in the fourteenth century were also divided similarly into four "nations."* Within these "nations" were ranked under one head, "*procurator*," the students from various countries, in accordance with the name of the "nation," and the scholar's native place; and each nation had peculiar regulations and separate funds.

When the faculties of theology, law, and medicine were founded, the "nations" still preserved to themselves the faculty of arts, and the entire University was represented by the *procuratores* of the "nations," and "deans," who were elected by the other faculties.

The number of students in the universities of the thirteenth century was very great, and though the remuneration of the teachers was derived from scholar's fees, it was often very considerable. Gradually, however, presents were made, to celebrated teachers, to induce them to remain, and ultimately a fixed salary became usual. In addition to this source of revenue, lectures "privatim" came into vogue, and for attendance at these the payment of fees was demanded. We may picture to ourselves the difficulties under which the

* The earliest and most eminent of the German Universities, Prague, was founded in 1350;—a secession thence of Saxon students gave rise to that of Leipsic. The fifteenth century produced several new academical institutions in France and Spain.

professors and their pupils laboured, when we remember that prior to the invention of printing, the lecturer accommodated his speech to the rapidity or tardiness of his audience, who wrote, or endeavoured to write down the *επεα πτεροεντα* as they came; a process which was necessarily wretchedly dependent upon mechanical difficulties.

Each university obtained celebrity for some particular branch of excellence. In Paris, scholastic theology was chiefly cultivated; Bologna was earliest in the field to study the civil and canon laws, and with Orleans and Bourges, was at a later date, celebrated for jurisprudence; while Montpelier retained for a considerable period its supremacy in the art of medicine. The free resort of foreigners to the universities was encouraged not only by the students, but generally by the government.

I cannot pause to relate the technical differences which distinguished the Universities of different parts of Europe, and which were, perhaps, most abundant in Germany, where divers methods were successively introduced for the maintenance of order, or of privilege, until, in 1813, the Landsmannschaften (countrymanships), devoted to the preservation of the rights of students from each locality, were abolished, to make way for the Burschenschaften, giving to every university the advantages of union amongst all its students, and this arrangement, again, was finally put an end to by act of the government itself, on its becoming jealous of the supposed liberal tendencies of the students of "Young Germany." The general organization of a continental university may be thus shortly described :—

Professores ordinarii are appointed for the various branches. These professors are divided into four faculties, each having a dean annually chosen amongst themselves. The body of the professors usually forms the senate, for the governance of which, an annual "rector" is chosen. Professors generally hold their appointments from the government,

and, besides making provisions with regard to instruction, have jurisdiction over the students in many minor matters of civil control.

There are also indefinite numbers of *professores extraordinarii*, who are salaried, and are looked upon as available for the service of the state; having sometimes been previously distinguished as men of talent.

There is a class of *docentes* or licentiates, who, after examination, have been permitted to teach; they are unsalaried, and any person may become a candidate to add himself to their number. From this class the *professores extraordinarii* are usually taken. The *lecturers* are not confined to particular subjects, but may lecture on branches of other faculties as well as on that for which they have taken a degree.

Though there are no official examinations insisted upon during the course of a students career, yet in Germany proper, there is usually, and in Prussia always, a requirement that any person desirous to become a clergyman, statesman, lawyer, physician, or superior teacher, must undergo a strict examination at some public university.

In close connection with the subject of universities is that of colleges, institutions which in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries appear to have originated in a desire to enable poor students to obtain gratuitously, or at small expense, the advantages of the universities themselves. Both in Paris and Germany, these institutions were soon diverted from their original purpose, and I need hardly say, that in England (except when guarded against by peculiar gifts of founders) there has been produced a similar result. As a conclusion to the present chapter, the following concise description of the University of Oxford, extracted from the Quarterly Journal of Education, may not prove uninteresting.* "Oxford is an establishment for the purposes of

* It does not seem to be proved that tradition erroneously ascribes the foundation of the school at Oxford to Alfred. It existed soon after his time, and was frequented

education, which corresponds to a federal body, united for political purposes. As in this latter case, the several states have separate jurisdictions, separate duties, and to a certain extent separate interests, so the several colleges and halls which compose the academical body, have each their own private regulations, for the education of members, but all contribute to the University education. This may be brought under the heads of public examinations and college preparation. In its early cultivation, and in the gradual additions which for many years were made to it, the system now followed in the German Universities was kept in view, and professorships or readerships in the different arts and sciences were established; but these university officers are no longer the main sources of instruction. The demand for instruction created by the degree examination is met almost exclusively by lectures delivered in the several colleges and halls; so exclusively, indeed, that though some knowledge of Greek is essential for a degree, and a considerable proficiency for the higher class degrees, the Greek professor has no lectures. What is actually required for a degree of Bachelor of Arts, is, that the student shall display some acquaintance with the facts and doctrines of the Christian religion, and especially with the peculiar tenets of the Church of England, as set forth in the Thirty-nine Articles;*

in the reign of Edward the Confessor. In the reign of Stephen, Vacarius a Bolognese lawyer, read lectures, at Oxford, on the study of civil law. In the reign of Henry II., or at least of Richard I., Oxford became a flourishing university, and in 1201 contained three thousand scholars.

The earliest charters were granted by John. Under Henry II.I, it is said there were thirty thousand scholars, an exaggeration which seems to imply (says Hallam) that the real number was very great. The incorporation of Cambridge took place in 1231; the school having existed, (as in Oxford,) long before the issue of the charter. In 1209, John having caused three clerks of Oxford to be hanged, on suspicion of murder, the whole body of scholars left that city, and emigrated, some to Cambridge, some to Reading, and other places, to carry on their studies. One report states that the Mayor and Burgesses hanged three innocent students for the accidental killing of a woman, by a student of the same hall. As in the case of Paris, the inhabitants repented the departure of the students, and interceded for their return. In 1241, the affair was made up.

* At Cambridge, no such distinctive religious examination is in use.—At the Little-go, students are examined in Paley's Evidences, and the Bible History, but at

some proficiency in Greek and Latin, in one or more of the ancient philosophical treatises, or in lieu of this, in a portion of ancient history; some knowledge also of the elements of logic, or the elements of geometry.

The statute, however, contemplates the probability of a much higher standard qualification in a portion of the students; and for these it provides honours additional to that of a mere degree. Their names are printed, arranged in four classes, according to a fixed standard of merit for each class. The candidate is permitted to name the books in which he wishes to be examined; and the examiners besides are at liberty to select books to examine in. The following may serve as a sample of the ordinary lists admitted by examiners:—Virgil, Cicero de Officiis, the first five books of Herodotus, Porson's four plays of Euripides, and some work on Logic. For the highest honours in classes, the catalogue usually comprises two or more treatises of Aristotle, with the addition occasionally of some of Cicero, or some parts of Plato, Herodotus, and Thucydides, and often the whole, or part of Xenophon's Hellenics, and Polybius; a selection of Greek Plays, and sometimes Pindar: a portion of Latin History, most commonly two decades of Livy; two or more Latin Poets, which are almost always Virgil, Horace, Lucretius or Juvenal. Besides the examinations in these books, the student is obliged to perform exercises in English, Latin, and Greek, in prose and verse, at the discretion of the examiners. The mathematical examinations have been for the last three or four years (1831) conducted principally by questions answered in writing. A candidate of the first class may be stated generally to have a knowledge of—Firstly, The Elements of Analytical Geometry,

the examination for honours, the test is almost purely secular. Before taking Bachelor's Degree, however, a scholar must subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles, but a man may go to college, study the subjects he chooses, and even take high honours, without reference to his religious creed; unless formal attendance at chapel, which is sometimes dispensed with, can be held to imply a religious test.

and Trigonometry; Secondly, The Differential and Integral Calculus and its applications; Thirdly, Mechanics, including also reference to the solar system, and embracing the substance of the three first sections of Newton's Principia, which are also read in the original forms; Fourthly, Principles of Hydrostatics, Optics and Plane Astronomy. The examinations take place twice a year. Prizes are given for the encouragement of composition in prose and verse, in Latin and English. There are also public scholarships which operate as rewards and encouragements of general proficiency and particular acquirements. These include Classical Literature, Mathematics, Hebrew, and Law. The university also affords facilities for the acquirement of various branches which do not enter into the qualification for a degree. Thus the several professors of geology, chemistry, and many other branches of science, are always provided with classes, often with numerous ones.

"We now proceed to the college preparation for public examinations. It is this that really constitutes an Oxford education. The process of instruction in the colleges, is by means of recitations. Every head of a house appoints a certain number of tutors for the purpose. Questions are put by the tutor, and remarks are made by him on the book which is the subject of study. He also gives directions as to the proper mode of studying. The students usually attend two, or three, or four tutors, who thus instruct in different branches. The college tutor moreover has interviews from time to time with his pupils, separately, to ascertain the individual's state of preparation, to assist him in his difficulties, &c. Besides these college tutors, however, there are private tutors, who look after the studies of individuals, and prepare them for attendance on the exercises of the college tutors. These private tutors are very useful to that large class of students who go to college prepared insufficiently. The course of college instruction closes at the end of each

term with a formal examination of each member separately, by the head and tutors who assemble for this purpose. This summing up is called technically *collections* or *terminals*. Each student presents himself in turn with the books in which he has received instruction during the term, and in many colleges with the essays and other exercises which he has written, his analysis of any scientific works, abridgments, histories, &c. In some colleges the students are required to present some book also in which they have not been taught during the term. Besides the other studies pursued in the colleges, the students write weekly short essays on a given subject, occasionally interchanged with a copy of Latin verses for those skilled in Latin versification. The liberality of donors has enabled the colleges to provide, indirectly, for the promotion of study, by means of exhibitions, scholarships, and fellowships. Every college and hall examines, if it thinks fit, its own candidates for admission, and pronounces, each according to a standard of its own, of their fitness, or unfitness for the university. The university has public examinations of its own, called *responsions*, for members who have been matriculated, not less than six, nor more than nine terms. These are conducted, principally, with a view to ascertain the elementary knowledge of the student, rather than his progress in those branches of learning which he is supposed to be pursuing." The same journal states that the necessary incidental expenses at Oxford amount, usually, to about ninety pounds in the year. The whole cost, even to an economical student, is estimated by McCulloch, at two hundred pounds to two hundred and fifty pounds per annum, exclusive of the private tutor's fee—fifty pounds.*

* The whole Revenues of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin, were stated in 1838 to be—

Oxford Colleges...	L.152,670	University.....	L.22,000	Total.....	L.174,670
Cambridge ditto	133,268	Ditto	16,000	Ditto.....	149,268
Dublin ditto.....	31500	Ditto		Ditto.....	31500

I shall now briefly conclude this chapter with a hasty allusion to the general current of school education, which may be said to have scarcely flowed through Europe in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. The pool was indeed nearly stagnant, but the angel was about to trouble the waters,—and from the new movement by which the fifteenth century was torn, there has arisen a fountain of knowledge, welling forth, and distributing unutterable benefits, to the whole human race. It may be doubted whether except in Divine Revelation, any great gain to mankind, has been unattended by evil; but it never can be doubted that of all the achievements of the human mind, quick and cheap printing is the one which has proved the most universal benefactor.

Humanly speaking, it has disencumbered thought of the trammels of space, accident and time, and the accumulating periods and experiences of man, do but add to the facilities which this simple key has furnished for the opening of the treasure-house of nature. I have yet however to mention one or two facts anterior to the era of modern civilization proper; an era which may fairly be said to have commenced with the invention of printing, or about 1450, when the Mazarine Bible was prepared.

I have already alluded to the unsatisfactory method which was practised in Europe in procuring teachers for the scattered schools in each country:—I may add that further abuses crept in, and made that system unseemly in operation, which was at first ill-digested in theory.

The elder pupils of classes often travelled in bands throughout the continent, pretending to mysterious powers and practising on the credulity or weakness of those who seemed to offer convenient facilities for being duped. They sometimes performed plays, and were thence called histriones; sometimes they were known as idlers, (*vacantivi;*) occasionally they took with them younger pupils, whose

duties seem to have been to supply by theft, any deficiencies which might occur in the amount of the disreputable gains of the party.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, these *vacantivi* were numerous in Germany, and it is not surprising that they were often as ignorant as they pretended to be learned:—frequently they were unable to construe Latin, and yet to teach it was one of the simplest of their professions. They wore swords (being students) and were choleric and impatient of insult; and all their quarrels were decided by an appeal to arms. One of Luther's complaints in the sixteenth century was against the vagrants who were appointed teachers.

Thus distractedly and insufficiently were supplied the means of education in the times I speak of;—efforts were doubtless made by distinguished men who sought to redeem their age from the disgrace of ignorance, and it cannot be said that these efforts were fruitless. By Lorenzo de Medicis, his son Leo X., the German Reformers in the early part of the sixteenth century, the counter-irritation of the Jesuits, whose educational efforts ought not to be lightly esteemed, the labors of the Piarists, and by many more confined, but no less laudable exertions, a love of letters was preserved amongst mankind; but it must be admitted that the tendency of every educational effort made previous to the formation of the American New England Colonies was limited in its scope. The bulk of the people were beyond the pale of learning; the treasure-house was not open to them, and it was not looked upon as their right to possess a key to the stores of truth. The utter ignorance in which the working classes were plunged, may perhaps excuse, if it cannot justify, the manner in which they were debarred from all intellectual enjoyment. Let any one picture to himself the long winter nights in those climates in which darkness reigns double the number of the hours of the day, and let him then reflect

upon the stolid and moping frame of mind which would ensue, if a family, unable to read, and excluded from conversation about foreign countries, were now to be shut up and hemmed in with the ordinary restrictions of the fifteenth century.

Even those who could read, amongst the upper classes, found it no light task to buy a book, and how could the poor expect such a possession? Cheerless indeed was the lot of the peasantry, to whom our countryman Gray thus beautifully alludes:—

> But knowledge to their eyes her ample page,
> Rich with the spoils of time, did ne'er unroll;
> Chill penury repressed their noble rage,
> And froze the genial current of their soul.

Milton was as little bent on perpetuating the distinctions of class as any writer of his time, but, in his treatise on education, it is manifest that he considers the boon of learning to be one to which "noble and gentle youth" only can hope to aspire. As a fit introduction to a narration of what was done by his fellow Puritans across the Atlantic, I shall, however, quote his graphic description of the uses of education. "The end of learning is to repair the ruins of our first parents, by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the nearest, by possessing our souls of true virtue, which, being united to the heavenly grace of faith, makes up the highest perfection. But because our understanding cannot found itself but on sensible things, nor arrive so clearly to the knowledge of God and things invisible, as by orderly conning over the visible and inferior creature, the same method is necessarily to be followed in all discreet teaching."

CHAPTER V.

THE Reformation has been attributed to the art of printing: the mind of man, always enquiring, had discovered a method of providing wherewithal to gratify its thirst,—and, as the element of fire is communicated from torch to torch, and yet in transmitting its virtue, the original torch burns brightly as if no virtue had departed from it,—so the thought of man, when once furnished with the mechanical medium by which to make itself known, shoots electrically from spirit to spirit, whatever be their abode, while the kindling thought itself remains burning brightly as before, throughout all time. But when these agencies began to operate, they were suspected to be dangerous to the rulers of the world; and doubtless they are so, to those who would rule unjustly,—while to those who would govern wisely, the dissemination of truth has been, and always will be, the firmest of supports. It was a false God who was feigned to be jealous of man's possession of the gift of fire to chase away the physical darkness which enveloped him; and it is by a false notion of the true God, that the moral Prometheus is sought to be enchained and quelled. The heathen allegory makes even the physical hero rise superior to his tormentor, and whatever may be the apparent powers of those who oppose the extension of the domain of intellect, each of its supporters may well apply to it the sublime defence and consolation which the poet gives to the sufferer who exclaimed,—

Τί δ' ἂν φοβοίμην ὃ θανεῖν οὐ μόρσιμον;

It was almost useless to have invented a panacea for the ills of life, if arbitrary power was enabled to prevent the application of the remedy; what could be the use of speculation, if the fruits of experiment were forbidden to be tasted? In England, especially, (where the popular mind rejoiced in the reflection that, though the country had been weighed down by the Romans, and had consequently been too weak to resist the various barbarians who assailed it during the centuries immediately succeeding the Roman Exodus from Britain, no ultramontane aggressions, and no anti-common law power had ever been permitted to triumph over the subjects' liberties) it was peculiarly felt to be a matter of hardship that the consciences of men should be interfered with. The "pilgrim fathers" therefore spread their sails to the wind which wafted them across the Atlantic; and there they founded what seemed then a miserable settlement of a few dreamy enthusiasts; but which has since been proved to have been the foundation of the world's present wonder, and one of the most powerful of existing nations.

Those pilgrims amongst their first acts in the constitution of their new society, framed laws to provide for education amongst the entire body of colonists; and in those regulations we find the first national organization of a scheme of education. In founding this system, and in their mode of enforcing some other observances, I am not about to assert that the colonists acted with thorough Christian judgment; and I am ready to admit that in some of their laws against different sects the pilgrim fathers laid themselves open to the charge of an abuse of power akin to that which drove them from their English homes. Posterity, however, may pardon their errors in consideration of the preponderance of good which was effected by their virtues, and the historian cannot but find many sources of extenuation for those actions which cannot be defended.

They left Europe when the public mind was excited not only in their own country but on the continent; they professed violent anti-papal doctrines; and they had heard with horror that an earnest admirer of the works of his Creator had been constrained on bended knees to declare *that* to be false, which he knew, and muttered as he rose was true.*

They were deeply imbued with the spirit of enquiry which, made tangible by Bacon, was, so to speak, animating the dry bones of the world; but they felt and saw that truth was not as a weed which grows apace; they found it rather tardy in taking hold of the general mind, and presuming not to expect any miraculous dispensation in their favour (as indeed some enthusiasts did,) they determined to seek another home on a foreign shore, and there to implant the seeds of the truth whose nourishment was forbidden to them by the arrogators of Divine right. They succeeded; they have exhibited to the world as the fruit of their toil, a nation which was the first to recognize a belief (now enjoyed by millions of the human race,) that no man shall be persecuted for his thought; and this one charitable doctrine, derived as it is from the Bible, and practised as it has been gradually, more and more throughout the world, is worth all the jargon of the scholastic ages, and all the cant of every system of ethical philosophy.†

De Tocqueville tells us that the New England states were founded on religious principles:—as De Tocqueville is a Roman Catholic, and the States were anti-papal, his testi-

* I allude to the anecdote told of Galileo, and I will add (as some anonymous writer in a New South Wales newspaper has expressed a doubt of the authenticity of the anecdote,) the following quotation from a Roman Catholic writer, Pascal, who thus addresses the Jesuits;—"In vain did you obtain a decree from Rome against Galileo, which condemned his opinion respecting the motion of the earth. This will never prove that it stands still; and, if it has been ascertained from careful observation that it turns, all mankind together cannot prevent its turning, nor prevent their being carried round with it."

† Rhode Island enjoys the honour of having been, if not the first, at least one of the earliest of the colonies, and, indeed, of modern states, in which the liberty of conscience, and freedom of worship, were boldly proclaimed among its fundamental laws.—JUDGE STORY.

mony is, at any rate in this matter, impartial. In more than one passage of his truly searching work, he remarks that religion was one of the fundamental principles upon which the States were founded, and that the people have well and wisely conformed to their original constitution in this respect. It may be said, however, that though De Tocqueville may have been pious and well disposed, his ideas of strict religious observance might have been laxly formed in consequence of his having imbibed loose notions in France. Let me then summon fresh evidence from the genial lecture of the present Earl of Carlisle, at Leeds, in December, 1850. "I have already mentioned with just praise the universal diffusion and excellent quality of popular education, as established especially in the States of New England, the powerful Empire State of New York, and, I may add, the prosperous and aspiring State of Ohio. Without venturing to weigh the preponderating recommendations or deficiencies of the voluntary system, I may fairly ask what other communities are so amply supplied with the facilities of public worship for all their members:—the towns, old and young, bristle with churches; they are almost always well-filled; the Sabbath, in the Eastern and Northern States, at least, is scrupulously observed; and with the most unbounded freedom of conscience, and a nearly complete absence of polemical strife and bitterness, there is apparently a close unity of feeling and practice in rendering homage to God."

With respect especially to education, Lord Carlisle says, "The public, or common schools in Boston, as I believe in New England generally, are supported by a general rate to which all contribute, and all may profit by. I am not, naturally, now disposed to discuss the question, how far this system would bear being transplanted and engrafted on our polity; but it would be uncandid if I did not state that the universality of the instruction, and the excellence of what fell under my own observation, presented to my mind some

mortifying contrasts with what we have hitherto effected at home." I am aware that those who would detract from American political success are prone when they meet such a statement as the above, to disparage it by referring to some doings of Vigilance Committees in California, or the nearly as brutal manners of the backwoodsmen of Missouri, Illinois, Arkansas, &c. :—but let no one be deceived by any such miserable evasions;—when American education is extolled, it is that of the Northern and Eastern States which is pointed to :—in *them* education was early cared for, and from *them* have the States reaped a rich harvest of intelligence. Upwards of a third of the members of the American senate have been known to be natives of one of the smallest northern states. I cannot refuse myself the pleasure of presenting to the reader in this place, the following touching passage from Nathaniel Morton's account of the settlement of New England, in the year 1620 :—

"So they left that goodly and pleasant city of Leyden, which had been their resting place for above eleven years; but they knew they were pilgrims and strangers here below, and looked not much on these things, but lifted up their eyes to Heaven, their dearest country, where God hath prepared for them a city, and therein quieted their spirits.

"When they came to Delfs-haven they found the ship and all things ready, and such of their friends who could not come with them, followed after them, and sundry came from Amsterdam to see them shipt, and to take their leaves of them. One night was spent with little sleep with the most, but with friendly entertainment and Christian discourse, and other real expressions of true Christian love. The next day they went on board, and their friends with them, where truly doleful was the sight of that sad and mournful parting, to hear what sighs, and sobs, and prayers did sound among them; what teats did gush from every eye, and pithy speeches pierced each other's heart, that sundry of the Dutch strangers that stood on the quay as spectators could not refrain

from tears. But the tide, (which stays for no man,) calling them away that were thus loth to depart, their reverend pastor falling down on his knees, and they all with him, with watery cheeks commended them with most fervent prayers unto the Lord, and his blessing; and then, with mutual embraces, and many tears they took their leaves one of another, which proved to be the last leave to many of them."

Such being the elements which tended to organize the cities of the New World, little need we wonder to find that, it was in 1647, regulated in general court, in Massachusets, "to the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers in Church and State, that every township of fifty householders, should appoint a public school for the instruction of children in reading and writing, and that every town of one hundred householders, should set up a grammar school, in which the master should be able to fit scholars for the University." This law, the eloquent Judge Story states "has in substance continued down to the present times, and it has contributed more than any other circumstance to give that peculiar character to the inhabitants and institutions of Massachusetts, for which she, in common with the New England States, indulges an honest and not unreasonable pride."

Contrast this law with a dictum of subsequent date, (1671) of Sir William Berkeley, whose reply to the Lords Commissioners respecting religious and other instructions in Virginia, fully bears out what I have already alleged as to the different primary constitutions of the American Colonies. "I thank God there are no free schools, nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels upon the best government. The Lord keep us from both.* This misogrammatist should have been a Spanish colonist, and

* Poor Sir William Berkeley, (if ghosts revisit earth,) must now have the uncomfortable reflection that Virginia, like the Northern States, has adopted a school system, and expends large sums in education.

would, even at a later date, have luxuriated in the edicts against learning, which distinguished the Spanish scheme of government. Hear Sir H. G. Ward on the matter, in his well-known work on Mexico.—"Liberty to found a school of any kind, was (latterly) almost invariably refused. The municipality of Buenos Ayres was told, in answer to a petition in favour of an establishment, in which nothing but mathematics was to be taught, that *learning did not become Colonies.* The Padre Mier (author of a very curious work on the Mexican Revolution,) enumerates various instances of a similar kind. In Bogota, the study of chemistry was prohibited, though permitted in Mexico; and in New Grenada, the works of the celebrated Mutis, though purely botanical, were not allowed to be published. Permission to visit foreign countries, or even the Peninsula, was very rarely granted, and that only for a very limited time. A printing press was conceded as a special privilege by the Council of the Indies, and that only to the three Viceroyalties—Mexico, Buenos Ayres, and Peru; to Caracas, and many other considerable towns, it was denied altogether. To guard against the importation of books, was, as I before observed, the special province of the Inquisition; and the whole ingenuity of this odious tribunal, was exerted, in order to check it. Not only were vessels subjected to a rigorous examination upon their arrival in port, but the captains were rendered personally responsible, for the correctness of the list of books on board, which they were compelled to give in. *In the interior, domiciliary visits were resorted to, and denunciations encouraged amongst members of the same family;* with what success, may be inferred, from the fact that, as late as 1807, a Mexican called Don Jose Rosas, was denounced by his own mother, for having a volume of Rousseau in his possession, and confined for several years in the dungeons of the Holy Office. He was fortunate enough to effect his escape, but died in 1811, at New Orleans. These instances of ex-

treme severity, however, were rare, and were less felt, because, in theory at least, the jurisdiction of the Inquisition was as extensive in the mother country as in the colonies. In practice its prohibitions were disregarded in both by the higher classes, who were in general acquainted with all the most violent publications of the earlier days of the French Revolution, *to the study of which, the very anxiety that was shewn to exclude them, gave an additional zest.*"

By their fruits ye shall know them :—the peace and greatness of America are in no jeopardy from her civilized sons of the North ; but in spite of the introduction of the arts which Sir William Berkeley despised, the dissolute ferocity of the South and West, have often brought the whole government into connection with shame ; and Spain, once a power, but now a bye-word among nations, has begotten colonies, whose only hope of regeneration is in measures, which a precocity of rottenness renders feasible ;—had they not, politically speaking, so early perished, their political regeneration would have become day by day more impracticable. " Dans les monarchies," says Montesquieu, " les lois de l' Education auront pour objêt l' honneur : dans les republiques, la vertu : dans le despotisme, la crainte ;"—and, it is to be feared that the last proposition, though inapplicable to the Northern States, has been made true in more American Colonies than those which were so long misgoverned by Spain.

The subject of education is not under the same laws in each, even of the Northern States of America, but there are certain broad principles which assimilate the course of education throughout New England.

By the federal government,* in the disposition of public lands, it is ordered that one section of each township, shall be reserved for common schools, in addition to provision for

* See Ordinance of Congress, 13th July, 1787, the third fundamental article of which makes provision respecting education.

colleges. In the Western States, one *thirty-sixth* of the public lands, is devoted to school endowments. But these regulations are clearly inapplicable to the older States of the Union, where the public lands had passed into private possession before the American constitution was framed. The requirements of the State are, however, usually exceeded by the zeal of citizens:—in Boston, when the expenditure on free schools, legally required, was three thousand dollars, the actual expenditure was sixty thousand; and by it there were supported eighty schools, comprising 7430 pupils; besides which there were 155 private schools in the city, with 4018 pupils, giving a total of 11,448 pupils, in a population of less than 62,000 souls.

In Connecticut we find, (*vide* Mr Mackay's Western World: 1846-47,)—"The State is divided into upwards of 1660 school districts, in all of which schools are in operation. In 1847, upwards of 80,000 were instructed in all the elements of a good ordinary education at these schools; the rate per child at which they were taught for a year, being one dollar and forty-five cents, or about six shillings sterling. In addition to this, there are in the State several colleges, and upwards of 130 academies and grammar schools, the State confining its operations, to the bringing home to every citizen a good elementary education. And it is only when the State, as a State, undertakes the work, that it can be done in the effectual manner in which it has been achieved in Connecticut."

In explaining how it is that there are differences in degree of education in the several states, it may be necessary to remark, that the control of the subject has not been vested in the federal government: it has been reserved as one of the most appropriate topics on which the ancient British municipal principle could be exercised, and the interest which this self-governing principle has engendered, bears ample testimony to the wisdom of the course

which was originally adopted: the State certainly requires that there shall be *a school* in each place which comprises a certain number of inhabitants; the details of the school regulations are managed locally; the select-men, who are annually elected, are bound to take order for convening the electors on occasions of magnitude; the electors decide as to some principal points, *vote the requisite rate*, and confide to the select-men the execution of the project. In this way schools are built, and by this system of local management, there is kept up a spirit of watchfulness, and a readiness of energy, which not only satisfy the mere requirements of the law in regard to school expenditure, but usually go far beyond, as I have already cited the case of Boston to prove.

In order to prevent schools from degenerating into the tools of sects, it has, in more than one instance, been provided, (I quote now a law of New York,) "that no school shall be entitled to a portion of the school moneys in which the religious sectarian doctrine or tenet of any particular Christians, or other religious doctrine shall be taught, inculcated, or practised."*

I know not the causes of mistrust which may have seemed to make such a law necessary, but whatever they were they did not militate against the attendance at the generality of the schools, for in New York, as in the New England States, nearly every child that is able to attend school is sent thither. Latterly the particular attention of the United States Government has been attracted to the consideration of public schools, and the talented and diligent Horace Mann,

* The Trustees of the Public School Society remark on this point, "that, independent of the difficulties arising from a variety of religious views, there are but thirty of the one hundred and forty-eight hours of the week, (six hours of five days only,) occupied in our schools; that during those thirty hours, the pupils are to be taught reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, geography, astronomy, history, drawing, mapping, the elements of natural science, and what is called knowledge of common things; and that this short period is liable to be interrupted by the time requisite for those changes of position, and those seasons of recess and relaxation which are indispensable to the health and happiness of the children."

by his writings and labours, has much conduced to the prosperity and advancement of his country's educational system. Chiefly in consequence of his exertions a Board of Education was formed in 1847, in Boston, and though no power, except that of enforcing Returns, was given to it, there can be no doubt that the publication of those Returns would have a most beneficial effect in stimulating those few localities which might be sluggards in the work.

The parents provide books, stationery, &c., in Massachusetts.

The districts provide schoolhouses, furniture, apparatus, &c.

The towns provide salaries for the teachers, and in accordance with the amount of population schools of superior grade are required.*

Every inhabitant of Massachusetts who has any voice in public affairs is recognized in the administration and benefit of the system, and as soon as the townships have authorized territorial divisions and school districts, these, by means of their district officers, who are at once elected, can proceed to raise money for building and repairing schoolhouses, and providing libraries and other necessary apparatus.

The town committee is annually chosen to superintend all the schools in the township, and it apportions school money to each district; examines and licenses teachers, bestows monthly visitations on the schools, has the regulation of certain books, and presents a written report during the year to the town;—a copy of this report being required to be sent to the Secretary of State for the Commonwealth, and

* Teachers are not paid in a niggardly way in America. I find in Sir Charles Lyell's remarks, made during his second visit to that country,—"In Boston, the Master of the Latin School, where boys are fitted for college, and the Master of the High School where they are taught French, mathematics, and other branches preparatory to a mercantile career, receive two thousand four hundred dollars a year; the Governor of the State receiving only two thousand five hundred dollars. Their assistants are paid from eighteen hundred to seven hundred dollars. The masters of the Grammar Schools have salaries of fifteen hundred dollars; and the mistresses of schools in which children learn to read, receive three hundred and twenty-five dollars."

furnished by him to the Board of Education, as part of the Returns which that Board is empowered to collect.

The Board of Education consists of the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of the Commonwealth *ex-officio*, and eight persons appointed by the Governor and Council. They appoint their own Secretary, and the members of the Board are reimbursed their official expenses.

Subordinate to the Town Committee, there is also an elective Prudential Committee, for Districts. The legal minimum of taxation is a dollar and a quarter for each child, but the excess voluntarily raised, is sometimes so great as to raise the whole rate to six dollars and three quarters per child.

TABLE,

COMPILED FROM INFORMATION FURNISHED TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Counties.	Population.	Valuation.	Sum appropriated by towns for each child between 4 and 16 years.	Amount raised by taxes for the support of Schools	Income of the surplus Revenue appropriated to Schools.	Amount contributed for board and fuel.	Number of Public Schools.	Number of Scholars of all ages in Schools.		Average attendance in all the Schools.		Average length of the Schools.		Male Teachers.	
								Summer.	Winter.	Summer.	Winter.			Average Wages paid per Month, value of Board included.	Average value of Board.
		DOLLARS.	DOLLARS.	DOLLARS.	DOLLARS.	DOLLARS.						Months	Days	DOLLARS	DOLLARS.
Suffolk	95,773	110,000,000·00	5·77	114,300·00	.....	90·00	167	17,659	17,726	13,376	13,227	12	0	71·80	12·25
Nantucket.....	9,012	6,074,374·00	4·15	2,800·00	.....	.....	15	1,422	1,442	1,196	1,161	12	0	57·75	12·14
Middlesex	106,611	37,592,082·00	3·50	95,790·71	785·68	239·00	451	25,169	26,808	18,114	20,042	8	9	32·46	8·88
Norfolk	53,140	15,522,527·00	3·31	44,340·57	1398·02	115·00	229	12,441	12,968	8,506	9,265	8	20	34·35	9·17
Essex	94,987	31,110,204·00	2·59	66,297·55	655·18	12·00	322	18,755	19,182	14,078	14,623	8	24	29·92	8·06
Plymouth	47,373	10,694,719·00	2·58	32,047·50	1045·71	2096·66	263	10,008	11,235	6,826	7,964	7	18	27·88	7·55
Bristol.....	60,165	19,493,685·34	2·53	41,452·32	612·00	4146·30	284	10,982	14,027	7,351	9,640	7	5	27·75	7·66
Worcester	95,313	29,804,316·00	2·33	58,400·24	616·73	1352 44	594	21,636	26,370	15,783	20,148	5	21	25·28	6·50
Hampshire.....	30,897	7,298,351·00	2·27	17,771·52	843·36	5065·63	218	6,438	7,850	4,642	5,727	6	19	21·35	6·95
Hampden	37,366	10,188,423·71	2·20	20,239·96	1572·03	6243·25	231	7,733	9,595	5,290	6,743	7	14	20·32	6·01
Duke's County	3,958	1,107,243·00	2·14	2,320·46	.....	5·00	18	321	879	224	593	5	12	26·83	7·23
Franklin	28,812	6,548,694·00	1·83	14,188·87	474·27	6327·88	249	6,561	7,970	4,932	6,073	6	5	19·83	5·46
Barnstaple.....	32,548	4,866,683·00	1·68	15,215·00	1047·05	1944·00	163	6,080	8,803	4,226	6,353	7	8	29·42	7·44
Berkshire	41,680	9,546,926·76	1·54	16,308·04	681.53	10314·74	271	8,204	9,415	5,665	6,428	7	7	19·71	6·26
	737,700	299,878,329·31	2·74	548,470·67	9726·56	37,951.90	3475	153,459	174,270	116,105	128,084	7	25	31·76	7·90

The practice in New England is to appropriate to Education any surplus revenue which may be saved from political expenditure: this amount will be seen to have been in 1844, largest in the County of Hampden, while in Suffolk and Nantucket no income was thus derived. Deducting from the large attendance of scholars, (shown in the above Table), those which were more than sixteen or less than four years of age, it is found that even the average attendance was, (in 1844) nearly one in 6·50 of the population.

The State of Pennsylvania organized a school system in 1836, leaving it free to each district to arrange its own plan, but appropriating a charge out of the State revenues in such counties as should assess a local rate for the same purpose. The annexed Table shows the progress which was made by the schools thus formed; and I would wish particularly to direct the attention of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Newcastle, to the smallness of the cost per child, in these schools, including the local expenditure. I compile the table from a document which emanated from the Privy Council Office, Downing-street, 30th June, 1848.—

Year.	Number of accepting districts.	Total Number of Scholars	Cost of each Scholar per Quarter.	State appropriation to accepting Districts.	Tax levied in accepting Districts.	Expenditure on School-houses.
			dolrs.	dollars.	dollars.	dollars.
1835	536	32,544	1·12½	Unknown.	.....	.....
1836	745	139,604	1·06	98,670·54	207,105·37	111,803·01
1837	796	182,355	1·27½	463,749·55	231,552.36	202,230·52
1838	861	174,733	1·39½	323,794·92	385,788·00	149,132·23
1839	879	181,913	1·36½	276,826·92	382,527·89	161,384·06
1840	879	181,913	1·36½	264,536·66	395,918·00	161,384·06
1841	902	227,699	1·26	249,400·84	397,952·01	123,004·19
1842	905	281,085	1·27	250,065·00	398,766·40	119,006·74
1843	945	288,762	1·21	272,720·00	419,307·61	92,749·01
1844	939	288,402	1·15	264,520·00	391,340·68	75,918·94
1845	1012	327,418	1·25	192,813·44	370,774·15	77,173·28
1846	1067	338,805	1·23	186,417·86	406,740·42	69,960·67

The disbursement for instruction and contingencies, was, in 1836, one hundred and ninety-three thousand nine hundred and seventy-two dollars and ninety cents, and had

increased in 1846, to four hundred and eighty-six thousand four hundred and seventy-five dollars seventy-four cents.

The success of the schools in Pennsylvania, is clearly shewn in the decrease of support required from the state, and the increase in the amount locally contributed. I need not, however, weary the reader with dry details of figures; let me rather quote the following nervous language of one of America's great men, Webster, who, though speaking thus in 1821, could have no cause now to retract, what he then said in praise of his country's National Instruction.—"For the purpose of public instruction, we hold every man subject to taxation according to his property, and we look not to the question whether he himself have, or have not children to benefit by the education for which he pays; we regard it as a wise and liberal system of police, by which property, and life, and the peace of society are secured. We seek to prevent, in some measure, the extension of the penal code, by inspiring a salutary and conservative principle of virtue and of knowledge in an early age.

"We hope to excite a feeling of respectability, and a sense of character, by enlarging the capacities and increasing the sphere of intellectual enjoyment.

"By general instruction, we seek so far as possible to purify the moral atmosphere; to keep good sentiments uppermost, and to turn the strong current of feeling and opinion, as well as the censures of the law, and the denunciations of religion, against immorality and crime. We hope for a security, beyond the law, and above the law, in the prevalence of enlightened and well-principled or moral sentiment. We hope to continue and prolong the time, when, in the villages and farmhouses of New England, there may be undisturbed sleep within unbarred doors. Knowing that our Government rests directly upon the public will, that we may preserve it, we endeavour to give a safe and proper direction to that public will. We do not, indeed, expect

all men to be philosophers or statesmen; but we confidently trust, and our expectation of the duration of our system of government rests upon that trust, that by the diffusion of general knowledge, and good and virtuous sentiments, the political fabric may be secure as well against open violence and overthrow, as against the slow but sure undermining of licentiousness. We rejoice that every man in this community may call all property his own, so far as he has occasion for it, to furnish for himself and his children the blessings of religious instruction and the elements of knowledge. This celestial, and this earthly light, he is entitled to by the fundamental laws. It is every poor man's undoubted birthright,—it is the great blessing which this constitution has secured to him,—it is his solace in life—and it may well be his consolation in death, that his country stands pledged, by the faith which it has plighted to all its citizens, to protect his children from ignorance, barbarism and vice."* The reader will not forget that it was in Massachusetts these words were uttered, and that they were applied to the state of education in the Northern or New England States; but in justice to the American union, it must also be recollected that the system so deservedly lauded in the North, has been gradually extending its influence to other States than those in which it was originally founded; and it must be a patriotic, and, perhaps, not an unreasonable hope in the mind of every American, that the fruits of their educational system may be so matured, that in every state, by such an orator as Webster, such language as I have quoted may be used with truth.

* The Americans were early alive to the importance of founding colleges as well as primary schools. Harvard College was founded in 1638; a period in which the aggregate population of Anglo-American Colonists was less than the present population of Victoria:—yet Harvard College was established by one of the small States.

CHAPTER VI.

THE next general educational effort made in any country, was that which was sanctioned by the celebrated Act, constituting the parochial schools in Scotland, in 1696.

Before reviewing the aspect of school affairs in Britain, however, I propose to glance at the various continental powers of Europe, and to give a summary of what has been done by those which are considered most influential on the destinies of society at large.

The example of Prussia perhaps deserves study in the first place; since it appears that so long ago as in 1765, Frederick the Great made laws, by which he placed the means of instruction within reach of the inhabitants of an entire province—Silesia. Amongst the many claims of public characters, for good and evil report, it ought never to be forgotten, that in a restless age, and even amid the horrors of war, so wise a scheme was propounded by a warrior, within twenty years after the cession of the province of which the conqueror thus became the benefactor.

Here, again, I shall become a debtor to a celebrated American—Adams, (once President,) who has given in his letters on Silesia, some valuable information on the subject I have in hand. "At the time of the conquest of Silesia, education had seldom been made an object of the concern of governments; and Silesia, like the rest of Europe, was but wretchedly provided either with schools or teachers. In the small

towns and villages, the schoolmasters were so poorly paid, that they could not subsist without practising some other trade besides their occupation as instructors; and they usually united the character of the village fiddler with that of the village schoolmaster. Even of these there were so few, that the children of the peasants in general, throughout the province, were left untaught. This was especially the case in Upper Silesia. Frederick issued an ordinance, that a school should be kept in every village, and that a competent subsistence should be provided for the schoolmaster by the joint contribution of the lord of the village and the tenants. The superintendence of the schools was prescribed as the duty of the clergy." Felbiger, an Augustine monk, assisted Frederick in procuring information on the best modes of teaching; and at Breslau, Glatz, and some other places, schools, akin to normal schools for the training of teachers, were established. Mr. Adams thus continues,— "After all these preparatory measures had been carried into effect, an ordinance was published in the year 1765, prescribing the mode of teaching as adopted in the seminaries, and the manner in which the clergy should superintend the efficacious establishment of the system. The regulations of this ordinance prove the earnestness with which the King laboured to spread the benefits of useful knowledge among his subjects. The teachers are directed to give plain instruction, and upon subjects applicable to the ordinary concerns of life; not merely to load the memory of their scholars with words, but to make things intelligible to their understanding; to habituate them to the use of their own reason, by explaining every object of the lesson, so that the children themselves may be able to explain it, upon examination. The candidates for schoolkeeping must give specimens of their ability, by teaching at one of the schools connected with the seminary, in presence of the professors, that they may remark, and correct anything defective in the

candidate's method. The school tax must be paid by the lord and tenants without distinction of religions. The boys must all be sent to school, from their sixth to their thirteenth year, whether the parents are able to pay the school tax or not. For the poor the school money must be raised by collections. *Every parent or guardian who neglects to send his child or pupil to school, without sufficient cause, is obliged to pay a double tax,* for which the guardians shall have no allowance. Every curate must examine weekly the children of the school in his parish. A general examination must be held annually by the deans of the districts of the schools within their respective precincts; and a report of the condition of the schools, the talents and attention of the schoolmasters, the state of the buildings, and the attendance of the children, made to the office of the vicar-general, who is bound to transmit all these reports to the royal domain offices, from which orders are issued to supply the deficiencies in the schools. This system was at first prepared only for the Roman Catholic schools, but it was afterwards adopted by most of the Lutheran consistories. It had at first many difficulties to contend with. The indolence of the Roman Catholic clergy was averse to the new and troublesome duty imposed upon them. Their zeal was alarmed at the danger arising from this diffusion of light, to the stability of their church; they considered alike the spirit of innovation and the spirit of enquiry as their natural enemies. *But the firmness of the government overcame every obstacle.* Before the seven years war, there had not been more than one periodical journal or gazette published in the province at one time; while there are now," (the period at which Mr. Adams wrote,) "no fewer than seventeen newspapers and magazines which appear by the day, the week, the month, and the quarter, and many of them upon subjects generally useful, and which contain very valuable information on all the most interesting topics of discussion."—

So far says Mr. Adams on this point, and there is scarcely any traveller to Silesia, who has not recorded his admiration of the advanced state which the country has reached in consequence of its ample means of instruction. Silesian writers themselves applaud it, and I quote from the English Quarterly Journal of Education, the statement that "the revolution effected by the introduction of the system of universal instruction, is stated by native writers to have been not less important, though of a slower and milder character than that of Luther. The habits of the people have been signally improved, and they have become, *as every one knows*, among the most intelligent, orderly, and industrious in Europe."

The Reviewer was wrong; there is a person who does not know anything of the sort; and who, in the midst of his ignorance, hazards an assertion, which looks very much like proof, that all the Silesians and the Reviewer are wrong, or that he, who is ignorant of what every body knows, is wrong. Dr. Poulding, the Roman Catholic Archbishop in Sydney, said, in 1844, in evidence, before a Committee of the Legislative Council, that Prussia and Sweden, were the *most educated countries and the most depraved.*" He had, probably at the time, forgotten the debaucheries of Roman Catholic and libertine France, when, in 1744, drunk with excesses under the Bourbons, and in 1793, delirious with the mad passions of unrestrained power, stupified but not tempered by unbounded ignorance. But whether he had, or had not forgotten this, I question whether he will persuade the world that he knows more of Silesia than the wisest of the Silesians: and I am happy to say that the Silesians still rejoice in their opportunities of learning; for I see in a Table (shewing the state of public schools in Prussia, in 1846,) annexed to this chapter, that the district of Breslau, in Silesia, true to its early advantages, appreciates them now, and sends more children to school than are sent by any other district in Prussia.

The Prussian system makes the school emanate from the locality in which it is required: it is obligatory upon all parents to send their children to school from seven to fourteen years of age; (earlier if they like, also,) and this duty is enforced by penalties.* Each parish is bound to support an elementary school; each considerable town a burgher school for more advanced students; each important district, a gymnasium for classical students; and each province has its University. The parish school is supported by the parish, and for its management all the landholders and heads of families are formed into a union, which appoints a committee to inspect and superintend the school. The course of instruction is authoritatively prescribed; and is nearly uniform throughout the kingdom. In the elementary schools it embraces,—

1. Religion and morals.
2. The German tongue.
3. Elements of Geometry and Drawing.
4. Arithmetic, pure and applied.
5. The elements of physic, including Chemistry, Natural Philosophy, General History, and Prussian History.
6. Singing.
7. Writing.
8. Gymnastic Exercises.
9. The more simple manual labours.

The Burgher school carries the same branches farther, adding, but not enforcing, Latin. The instruction is not gratuitous, except to the poor.

The provision to be made by the parish is,—

A salary to the master, with retiring allowance in old age.

Books, Maps, Models for Drawing, Collections, &c.

* Poor-rates have not been generally exacted in any part of the kingdom, but school-money has long been levied as a rate incumbent upon all who have children. The rate varies from threepence to sixpence per month, according to circumstances; but a proof of pauperism obtains remission, and even to the poorest the advantages of education are accessible.

School-house, well ventilated and heated, and
Aid to poor Scholars.

The fund is raised by levies on property or produce, and by moderate fees paid to the parochial managers, *not to the master.*

There are Cantonal courts, and inspectors who control and inspect all the schools in a Canton; others for departments, with wider powers; others for the provinces, with still more extended authority, and above all, there is the Minister of Public Instruction. In all the courts, councils, or commissions exercising authority over the schools of any class, there are a few of the clergy—Protestant and Roman Catholic being admitted in proportion as the scholars belong to one or other denomination; great care is taken to avoid religious offence. The choice of the books used in the elementary schools is left to the local committees.

Examinations are held half-yearly; and boys on leaving school receive certificates, the production of which is demanded in after life on several occasions. There are also numerous seminaries where Pedagogy, or the art of teaching, is made the object of study for candidates for the office of teacher. The number of scholars at elementary schools, in Prussia, in 1846, was 2,433,333, and adding those which attended at higher schools, it appears from the information officially furnished to the Committee of Council on Education, in England, that the whole number of scholars being educated in 1846, in Prussia, was 2,542,961, or a proportion of one in six to a population of sixteen millions. The grant from the State Budget, for aid of elementary schools in 1845, was £37,000, and the sum apppropriated in the same year for educational institutions of all kinds, was one million one hundred and thirty-eight thousand and fifty dollars, or one hundred and seventy thousand two hundred and seven pounds, ten shillings.

TABLE FURNISHED BY THE PRUSSIAN GOVERNMENT TO THE ENGLISH MINISTER IN BERLIN. STATE OF SCHOOLS IN 1846.

Name of School District.	Elementary Schools.						Schools of a Higher Description.								Town Schools.				Normal Schools.	
	Number of Schools.	Teachers. Male.		Teachers. Female.	Scholars in average attendance		Boys.—Number of				Girls.—Number of				Number of				Number of Schools.	Number of Pupils.
		Fixed.	Assistants.		Boys.	Girls.	Schools.	Teachers.	Assistants.	Scholars	Schools.	Teachers.	Mistresses.	Scholars	Schools.	Teachers.	Assistants	Scholars		
1. Konigsberg	1,598	1,750	173	38	57,802	56,858	17	42	7	1,402	18	93	10	1,828	5	31	15	1,088	3	126
2. Gumbinnen.....	1,083	1,131	41	5	40,198	39,044	18	46	..	2,040	19	36	8	1,965	2	15	2	503	2	136
3. Dansig	639	680	24	35	27,033	25,428	9	18	2	700	4	12	12	574	4	29	5	1,009	1	43
4. Marienwerder...	1,044	1,097	15	7	40,210	38,003	5	13	2	395	5	17	6	519	4	16	6	384	1	65
5. Posen	1,194	1,360	31	659	67,982	66,124	7	17	...	674	7	17	8	984	5	27	5	572	3	187
6. Bromberg.....	691	747	23	14	29,325	27,623	6	12	...	357	6	8	8	444	1	1	...	29	2	48
7. Hurl Berlin.....	108	237	272	139	14,096	12,720	12	27	61	1,797	45	271	138	5,157	9	61	59	2,950	1	33
8. Potsdam	1,547	1,810	44	66	66,224	66,515	37	124	4	6,809	34	80	37	5,598	1	9	1	382	1	95
9. Frankfurt.....	1.265	1,568	31	19	67,476	66,028	14	36	..	1.963	16	44	14	2,623	6	40	2	1,275	2	149
10. Stettin	1,077	1,221	30	32	41,588	39,575	28	80	8	3,955	33	83	36	4,375	2	20	5	529	3	84
11. Coslin	1,023	1,015	70	9	30,855	29,554	14	59	4	2,835	15	30	9	2,579	1	7	...	184	1	51
12. Stralsund.....	379	386	10	36	12,421	11,475	11	23	2	766	9	13	12	460	3	6	...	249	2	24
13. Breslau.....	1,495	1,551	343	54	89.585	89,276	22	54	19	3,595	7	19	26	2,937	1	11	12	570	1	107
14. Oppeln	939	1,073	316	4	79,871	79,686	7	17	2	294	4	17	8	345	1	6	2	225	1	113
15. Lugnitz	1,339	1,224	275	5	66,905	68,054	17	46	10	2,025	21	42	47	2,511	3	16	3	571	1	91
16. Magdeburg	1,068	1,371	36	51	55,332	55,249	40	87	6	3,847	19	61	55	3,194	4	29	8	801	3	121
17. Merseburg :.....	1,258	1,410	52	11	61,807	60,236	18	86	32	6,844	21	95	29	6,811	1	8	13	299	2	108
18. Erfurt	519	627	14	27	29,756	28,758	4	21	2	1,139	6	36	9	1,549	2	18	3	423	3	122
19. Munster	530	417	29	144	32,399	31,727	12	16	14	433	2	2	4	52	1	3	2	45	1	28
20. Minden.....	572	589	76	53	41,603	39,893	6	12	...	377	7	10	12	632	2	3	...	76	2	93
20. Arnsberg	811	876	37	55	50,370	47,165	16	23	1	548	9	19	3	243	6	18	5	462	1	47
22. Coln	581	504	222	93	41,561	37,966	2	3	4	52	7	9	31	623	3	16	4	404	1	101
23. Dusseldorf	798	904	334	36	71,627	67,693	12	24	2	405	25	53	48	854	12	53	17	1,310	2	177
24. Coblentz	1,058	985	79	63	45,419	43,508	5	11	11	202	11	13	46	527	10	26	10	489	1	37
25. Trier	881	830	71	96	39,684	39,025	2	...	4	51	4	6	5	350	4	11	11	234	...	.....
26. Aachen	533	551	101	60	34,229	31,702	1	1	...	11	6	8	19	568	4	18	17	561	...	.....
Total...	24,030	25,914	2,749	1,856	1,235,448	1,197,885	342	898	197	43,516	360	1,094	640	48,302	100	506	197	15,624	41	2,186

The reader will not be surprised to learn, that in presenting the above statement of facts to the public in England, the Committee of the Privy Council remarked that "Prussia has done most towards perfecting, on a large scale, the system of popular instruction, which most closely suits itself to the wants and abilities of a large nation." In estimating the precise cost of teaching the 2,433,333 children, for whom £37,000 are expended by the State in National Education, and for whose behoof the provision exhibited in the foregoing table was made, I shall leave the Bishop of Newcastle to exercise his ability in displaying the beauties of proportion.

CHAPTER VII.

In turning to review the educational aspect of Germany, I avail myself of the opportunity of mentioning, now that I have again reached a Roman Catholic atmosphere, the efforts of the Jesuits, from the contemplation of which, I was led away in the fifth chapter, in consequence of having devoted some attention to the primary establishment and subsequent organization of Universities.

The efforts of the Jesuits, though hugely unscrupulous, have, nevertheless, proved hitherto a failure. Called into being by the wants of their church, and feeling as they did that the luxuries of an elder time, and the abandonment of a foregone clergy, (who seemed in the day of Tetzel, to have come to the conclusion that the church of God was most thriving upon earth when man was most sinful, so long as sin had a price,) had placed that church in jeopardy, the Society of Ignatius Loyola threw themselves into the van, and in court and camp, as well as in the pulpit and the school, they did all which man in a wrong cause could do. One of their own employers, adverting to their readiness to act upon instructions, however unrighteous those instructions might appear, called them "St. Peter's Janizaries." Pope Benedict XIV. had historical reason for his sarcasm; his predecessor, Paul IV. had adopted the ethics of the order, and had exemplified the belief that the end justifies the means, by summoning the Turks to his aid, when he was

engaged in a war with Philip, His Most Christian Majesty of Spain. Under Paul IV., in Bavaria, Canisius, a Jesuit, drew up a catechism, on which all servants of the state were compelled to swear, and for a denial to subscribe to which, recusant Bavarians were liable to banishment.

In condemning the Jesuits for their dishonest doctrine of expediency, (the paltry refuge of a perplexed conscience, or the still more nefarious gratification of an unscrupulous will,) we must not forget that the Jesuits did some service, perhaps against their intention, to the cause of learning; the public mind was disturbed, and it was apparent that the movement was one which could not be quelled entirely; with consummate policy the Jesuits led the way in learning amongst the learned, while, as we have noticed with regard to South America, they denied all learning to the ignorant, the unenquiring and obedient. The result is obvious; all tricks grow stale in the end, and stink in the nostrils of the world; Jansen reasoned, and multitudes of the holy order answered him; thirty-six editions of Escobar were poured upon the small reading public of the day, and to the readers of all those thirty-six editions, the inimitably witty and caustic, though exquisitely elegant and nervously logical, Provincial Letters of Pascal, afforded an undying source of amusement. France laughed, the Jesuits raved, and the See of Rome extinguished (for a while), their order.* I have now alluded to them, because it would be unjust not to have mentioned that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they did much for schools of a certain kind on the continent of Europe.

From a number of the Athenæum, I chiefly extract the

* When the Order of Jesuits was revived in many parts of the world by the Pope, the declaratory Bull announced that the revival was enforced upon men "under penalty of the indignation of the Almighty, and the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul."—The order cannot, therefore, now be called extinct, though it may not be flourishing.

following summary, furnished by Mr. A. Marc Girardin, of the Imperial regulations concerning education in Austria:—

Firstly, there are Asylums to which children are sent before the age of five.

Secondly, Public Schools, in which pupils remain until their twelfth year.

To these institutions parents are compelled to send their children. In each parish there is a list of all the children, and this is duly compared with the registry of births. A child completing the fifth year, some months before going to school, is compelled to remain at school after he has passed the twelfth year. It is forbidden to hire a labourer or servant who does not produce a certificate from the curé of the parish in which he went to school, and such certificate must testify that the bearer has been duly instructed in religion, and has gone through a prescribed examination. In manufactories, it is enjoined that children shall be sent to evening schools, where they receive instruction at the expense of their employer or parents. No child can be taken into employment before the age of eight years. Every year the clergyman of the parish sends in a report to the Inspector of Schools of the District. The inspector transfers this report to a magistrate of the assembly, who consults a physician on it, and then transmits it with his own observations to the Governor of the province.

In elementary schools, children are divided into two classes; in the first they learn a catechism, the alphabet, spelling, reading, printed characters, writing, and cyphering, and this class retains them during two years;—in the second they pursue writing and reading; religious instruction is given, and they learn also to write from dictation, to cypher, and to compose.

Amongst the regulations for teachers, in the government manual, the following clause is noticeable:—"It is not necessary to give children other ideas than those which belong to

men of their class in life, or to awaken in their minds other opinions than those which are fit for their rank. Above all, they should be accustomed to obey and respect authority, and respect should form the motive of their obedience. The books used in schools should contain examples likely to affect their minds, but their master must attend to their development. Priests are above all charged with this, for to the clergy belongs the forming of the people's morals.

Thirdly, there are Primary Superior Schools, and they are of two kinds,—those for three classes, and those for four.

The elementary schools form thus the two first classes of the superior schools, and lead to them as higher steps in the same ladder. The subjects of instruction in the superior schools, are religion, (comprising the Bible History,) reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, German grammar, exercises in composition, and, for those who are intended to enter the "gymnasium," reading and writing in Latin.

This third class completes the system of elementary instruction.

Fourthly, commences the intermediate instruction, which (is carried on in the Primary Superior Schools, but) forms a separate class, in which pupils remain for two years, and are prepared for the trade they are to follow.

The objects of instruction are religion, advanced arithmetic, composition, geometry, mechanics, architecture, natural history, geography, physics, and drawing. Instruction in religion must be regulated by the catechism, which the pupil is bound to commit to memory.

As far as the intermediate instruction, education is compulsory, but the intermediate and more advanced learning is not so. The gymnasium is open for the man of letters, practical or mercantile schools for the followers of trade, and the Polytechnic Institutions, as at Prague and Vienna, are also accessible for those who would run still further in the race.

The law which enjoins the attendance of children at school, and makes the parent or guardian responsible, was originally framed by Joseph II. for the old German and Slavonian provinces, but has since been extended to the portions of the Empire which have been acquired by conquest.

From information furnished to the Committee of Council on the subject, I have compiled the following particulars respecting the present state (say in 1847) of education throughout the whole Austrian Empire.

As respects languages, the necessities of the respective districts are consulted, and though German is taught in most elementary schools, religious instruction and reading are taught in the national dialect, whatever it may be. It thus happens that several forms of faith are sometimes taught in the same school, and in separate languages.

The total number of elementary schools is 20,230; but this is exclusive of Hungary, whence no returns were furnished to the committee.

There are	6374	German Schools.
	6169	Italian ditto
	4678	Slavonian ditto.
	1110	Hungarian ditto.
	513	Wallachian ditto.
	3	Greek ditto.
	1483	Mixed Schools.
	20,230	

The German language is taught in	7484	Schools.
Italian	6294	ditto.
Slavonic dialects	6019	ditto.
Hungarian, (out of Hungary)	1122	ditto.
Wallachia.	553	ditto.
Greek	3	ditto.

Assuming, as official reports warrant, that the Slavonic

population, exclusive of Hungary, consists of ten millions, the German of six millions and and a half, the Italian of five million, and the Hungarian (Magyar) of a million and a half (in Transylvania), the proportion of school provision is in the—

Slavonic provinces on an average 1 school to 1827 souls.
German ..... 1 ditto to 869 „
Italy ..... 1 ditto to 794 „
Transylvania..... 1 ditto to 1000 „

The total cost of supporting schools throughout the Empire being, in 1843, three millions sixty-seven thousand nine hundred and seven florins, the amount raised as school money, as shewn in the following table, was one million one hundred and forty-three thousand three hundred and ninety-three florins, or rather more than a third of the whole.

The cost of educating each child in elementary schools in Moravia and Silesia, did not exceed two shillings.

In Lombardy the cost was less than ten shillings for each pupil.

In Moravia and Silesia, nearly one hundred per cent. of the children attended school; in Lombardy, about fifty-six per cent. In Moravia the schools are less in number than those in Galicia, but the scholars in Moravia are far more numerous in the former, than in the latter province; one school in Moravia appearing to perform as much work as four schools in Galicia.

THE FOLLOWING TABLE IS COMPILED FROM THE RESULTS OF A SURVEY OF SCHOOLS IN THR AUSTRIAN EMPIRE, 1843.

Province.	School attendance in proportion to population.		School Money.	Money from Provincial Districts and Local and Municipal Governments.	From the Fund for Education and Religion	From other Sources.	From the Treasury	Parishes.		Roman Catholic Schools.	Protestant and other Schools.	Number of Children.			Total of Money expended.	Total of Schools.
	Male.	Female.						Roman Catholic	Protestant.			Between 6 and 12.	At School.	In Repetition Schools.		
	1 in	1 in	FLORINS.	FLORINS.	FLORINS.	FLORINS	FLORINS.								FLORINS.	
Lower Austria.....	6	7	273,015	61,102	50,206	.....	.....	916	5	1,147	6	158,565	155,488	57,226	383,725	1,153
Upper Austria	6	7	132,900	40,089	34,087	.....	.....	528	11	618	15	90,320	86,914	40,597	189,409	628
Stiria	7	9	40,481	27,453	31,499	.....	.....	576	4	619	5	106,320	80,752	35,495	99,433	624
Carinthia and Carniola	15	20	32,388	35,173	41,492	.....	2,562	649	16	334	31	84,847	28,203	15,708	111,615	365
Illyrian Coast	20	46	3,468	38,977	34,816	4,867	128	346	7	113	10	62,229	11,813	3,790	82,256	123
Tyrol	5	6	29,443	29,663	50,832	295	.....	689	...	1,707	2	104,010	106,397	49,836	112.100	1,709
Bohemia.....	5	6	261,141	140,040	54,717	68,183	600	1,765	53	3,419	72	531,563	501,192	222 695	500,088	3,493
Moravia and Silesia ...	4	5	213,945	.....	58,011	.....	.....	1,026	43	1,805	112	291,292	277,335	175,311	271,956	1,917
Galicia	30	68	.....	42,369	87,572	.....	.....	2,685	288	1,919	75	582,244	74,986	84,588	129.944	1,994
Dalmatia	66	307	.....	11,364	21,553	.....	300	429	115	51	...	12,776	3,662	.....	33,217	51
Lombardy	10	16	82,941	391,600	.....	21,368	63,760	2,330	1	3,743	...	341,209	188,770	7,924	509,669	3,743
Venice	24	109	4,969	271,984	.....	.....	51,178	1,615	2	1,649	...	258,019	81,164	851	328,141	1,949
Transylvania	26	49	55,338	.....	.....	.....	24,183	1,678	1,935	226	1,402	96,708	60 035	.....	79,521	1,628
Military Frontier	10	18	13,364	79,409	.....	.....	53,079	442	622	589	564	124,317	69,956	21,388	145,852	1,153
			1,143,893	1,169,223	464,788	94,713	195,790	15,624	3,102	17,936	2,294	2,794,419	1,726,167	665,409	2,976,921	20,230

In WIRTEMBERG, it is well known that education is carried on by the government in a successful manner. Each *locality*, comprising thirty families, is bound by law to provide a school. Localities containing less than thirty families are bound by law to unite with a neighbouring locality; but if the road thereto be dangerous, or exceed two and a half English miles, the government committee of education can decree a school for fifteen families.

If a minority (in religious opinion) contain as many as sixty families, it may claim a school of its own religious opinion, at the expense of the whole community without regard to religious professions, and by each individual in proportion to the amount of taxes paid by him. In poor communities the government contributes in part towards the salary of the schoolmaster and the support of the school. Where there are four thousand inhabitants, the schoolmaster's salary is three hundred and fifty florins, with house rent; where there are between two thousand and four thousand inhabitants, the salary is three hundred florins, with house rent. One schoolmaster is allowed to ninety scholars; two schoolmasters for more than ninety scholars; three for more than one hundred and eighty scholars, and so on. The school hours are, in summer four hours, in winter, six hours a day. The school is under the inspection of the clergyman of the confession to which the schoolmaster belongs, and under the control of the presbytery. The attendance of every child is compulsory at a primary school, unless his parents prefer to send him to a superior school; fine and imprisonment are the penalties against parents and guardians; and the police are charged also to compel the children to attend; if they cannot attend school, they must be taught privately, and if necessary, at the cost of the state.

In BAVARIA, the state of education in 1844, was as follows:—

	Roman Catholic.		Protestants.		Israelite.	
Number of Day Schools ...	4,802		2,116		93	
Provisional Schools	82		166		...	
	BOYS.	GIRLS.	BOYS.	GIRLS.	BOYS.	GIRLS.
Scholars in Day Schools...	183,641	186,102	90,697	92.529	1,637	1,633
In Holiday and Sunday do.	136,477	146,007	40,876	42,595	706	847

The population of Bavaria being 4,250,000 souls, we find that one in seven attended the day schools, and one in five a school of some kind where elementary instruction was given, but the attendance at all the schools shews that nearly one in four received instruction.

Attendance at	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
Infant Schools	2,393	2,470	4,863
German Schools	275,975	280,264	556,239
Sunday Schools.....	178,061	189,449	367,510
Industrial Schools	25,212	60,469	85,681
Teacher's Colleges.....	696	.....	696
Grammar Schools.....	7,495	.....	7,495
High Schools	3,110	.....	3,110
Colleges of Art	694	.....	694
Handicraft Arts	8,978	.....	8,978
Polytechnic Colleges	493	.....	493
Private Seminaries	2,444	.....	2,444
Total receiving instruction...	.....	.....	1,038,203i

A complete system of inspection is established throughout Bavaria. Many schools are provided with nursery gardens, and are expected to be so. Out of six thousand and sixty-five German schools, five thousand two hundred and eighty-four had nursery gardens attached to them.

Before a pupil can go to a higher school, he must pass a satisfactory examination in a lower school. All candidates for state offices must pass examinations; apprentices in trade must be examined before they can become masters, and even officers in the army are required to pass through an examition on promotion.

The DUCHY of BADEN, is one of the most regularly organized of the States of Germany in its school management.

The care of schools is under the direction of the Minister of the Interior. The local authorities consist of clergy and laity combined in the following manner with state or public functionaries :—

Inspector, as chairman;

The Mayor, or headborough;

The Vestry of the parish, amongst Protestants;

The Trustees of Foundations in Roman Catholic communities; and the

Directors of Synagogues among the Jews.

The teachers are, if possible, to be present at the deliberations of the authorities.

The education department can appoint a board to take chargè of all the schools in large towns.

The county authorities are to be consulted respecting the foundation of a new school, or the suppression of an old one. The parish clergy, who keep the registers of births, have to furnish the school authorities with a list of all children whose schooling begins at the following Easter; no child is allowed to attain the age of seven without attending school, except in case of sickness or some disabling cause; and every week the schoolmaster is obliged to give the school authorities a list of the children who have been absent without leave, or, who, having absented themselves, have failed to account satisfactorily for so doing; *and he furnishes also a list of the number of days which each has been absent. This list is handed to the burgomaster, who forwards it to the parents of the children, and imposes a fine, varying from two krentzers, (two-thirds of a penny,) to twelve krentzers, (eight-pence) for every day of non-attendance.*

Schools are built with a view to allow of six square feet for each pupil, and the rooms are ten feet high. The best

modern system of instruction is practised, and the attention of the pupils kept up in a manner adapted to secure real and healthy, not mechanical and useless learning. "If the scholars of one school be of different religious confessions, care is taken that they receive their religious instruction at the same hour. If the school belong exclusively to one confession, but is also attended by children of another confession, the instruction in religion must be fixed in the last hour of attendance, that such as do not participate in it may go home, or wherever religious instruction is provided for them."

In HOLLAND, the first impulse to improved primary instruction was given by some benevolent citizens in Groningen, who, in 1784, founded the "Society of Public Good." They were encouraged in their efforts to train schoolmasters and to improve schools. The French invasion interrupted the good work; but it was afterwards resumed, and as early as 1817, Normal schools were founded at Haarlem and Lier, near Antwerp, in addition to the Groningen institution.

In 1823 the cost of the lower schools was two hundred and forty-two thousand two hundred and forty-six florins, eighty-seven cents, or twenty thousand one hundred and ninety-five pounds and eleven pence.

In 1826 rather more than 9 per cent. of the population attended schools.

In 1828 the State expended forty-one thousand three hundred and seventy-seven pounds ten shillings on education, being an outlay of thirty-six pounds per school.

On the separation of Belgium from the Netherlands the expenditure allowed in Holland was largely increased and amounted to seventy-six thousand three hundred and seventeen pounds raised by two millions four hundred and fifty thousand persons.

The following table will show the state of public education in Holland, in 1846, when about one in eight of the population enjoyed instruction:—

TABLE.

Provinces.	Population January 1, 1848.	Public Parish Schools.	Scholars.		Schools on special foundations.	Scholars.		Private Schools.	Scholars.		Total Schools.	Scholars.		Total.
			Boys.	Girls.		Boys.	Girls.		Boys.	Girls.		Boys.	Girls.	
North Brabant	402,353	294	22,063	15,118	12	363	735	73	980	3,213	379	23,406	19,066	42,472
Gelderland . .	371,877	327	26,461	19,686	19	1,306	926	41	1,349	738	387	29,116	21,350	50,466
South Holland	564,791	254	23,771	19,489	40	3,477	3,167	149	4,964	3,454	443	32,217	26,110	58,322
North Holland	467,733	230	18,943	15,194	86	2,988	2,652	199	5,740	5,423	515	27,666	23,169	50,835
Zealand	159,915	138	10,397	7,377	...	.....	.....	15	962	556	153	11,559	7,933	19,492
Utrecht	154,419	80	6,479	5,318	23	2,472	1,996	47	1,223	811	150	10,174	8,125	18,299
Overyssel . . .	246,837	344	22,010	16,962	3	89	109	11	284	259	358	22,383	17,330	39,713
Friesland . . .	212,040	209	17,627	15,547	7	388	368	15	1,137	869	231	19,152	16,722	35,874
Groningen . . .	189,714	195	16,347	13,276	19	1,173	911	34	2,325	1,750	248	19,845	15,937	35,782
Drenthe	81,258	128	6 267	5,471	4	54	40	7	170	120	139	6,491	5,640	12,131
Limburg . . .	268,047	161	9,195	7,219	2	217	6	48	1,069	1,278	211	10,481	8,503	18,894
	3,053,984	2,410	179,760	140,657	165	12,522	10,917	639	20,203	18,411	3,214	212,485	169,885	382,370

In BELGIUM the attention of the government has been principally directed to carrying out the work which was commenced by the Dutch authorities. In 1840, four hundred and fifty-three thousand three hundred and eighty one children of both sexes attended school; the population being then four million and sixty-four thousand nine hundred and ninety-seven, the school attendance was, therefore, one in nine of the people; the total outlay in aid of schoolmasters' salaries paid by the State, by the communes and other public bodies, was nine hundred thousand francs, or thirty-six thousand pounds. The school money may be estimated at two million three hundred thousand francs, or ninety-two thousand pounds; and these two sums divided amongst five thousand three hundred and twenty teachers, yield an average of five hundred and ninety francs, or twenty-seven pounds to each.

With regard to SWEDEN, the reader will, perhaps, recollect that I quoted the words of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Sydney, who asserted, in 1844, that education and depravity were there excessive; he added that nine hundred and ninety-nine out of one thousand of the population were readers. I am sorry to be obliged to destroy this fallacy; but official returns are inexorable, and they warrant no such conclusion as Dr. Poulding draws. In 1843 there were three million one hundred and thirty-eight thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven persons in Sweden, and there were not nineteen thousand scholars amongst them; less than one in one hundred and sixty-five therefore received instruction in schools; and however true it may be that there is much domestic education in Sweden, it cannot be asserted that there is so much as to bear out Dr. Poulding's assertion, more especially if he meant by "readers," persons who could understand what they read.*

* I am aware that there is some colour for an assertion that Sweden was highly educated, at the period adverted to by Dr. Poulding; but I do not know, and shall be

In the diocese of *Lund* alone, there were more untaught children (three thousand nine hundred and ninety-one) than suffice to disprove this statement; and in the diocese of *Hernosand*, out of one hundred and forty-seven Swedish parishes, only twenty-three contained schools; while in the Lap and Finnish parishes there was a still greater deficiency; no schools having been formed in the Finnish parishes, even in 1847.—*Report on General Education in Sweden, transmitted by the English Minister, dated* 1st *June*, 1847.

Moreover the attendance at the schools in Sweden is of a nature which shows at a glance that a very small proportion of the labouring classes, or the bulk of the nation, benefits by the instruction given by the State.

OFFICIAL REPORTS OF EDUCATION IN SWEDEN.

Years.	Number of Scholars frequenting School.			Classification of the Scholars.				
	Entered.	Left.	Remained.	Nobles.	Priests.	Officials and Gentry.	Citizens.	Working People.
1822-1824	4,133	3,491	4,910	162	494	1,217	1,157	1,103
1825-1832	11,195	9,564	5,071	572	1,410	3,499	2,899	2,815
1833-1843	17,117	14,194	5,917	861	1,190	5,370	4,599	4,235

glad to learn in what authentic quarters such an assertion has been accompanied by a statement that Sweden was also vicious.

The discrepancy between the authentic documents quoted in the text, and the rumours of educational advances in Sweden may probably be accounted for, by considering that no very accurate statistics on the subject had been compiled in Sweden when Dr. Poulding spoke. However, I find a remark of Lord Brougham's, in 1835, singularly confirmatory of a part of the Right Reverend Prelate's evidence, but strangely opposed to the remainder:—

"Sweden is, perhaps, the best educated country in the world; for it is there difficult to find one person in a thousand who cannot read and write. The accounts in those countries. (Denmark, Bavaria, &c.,) shew that the progress of education, but especially of infant tuition, has been attended with marked improvement in morals; and it is well known that in Spain, the worst educated country in Western Europe, tenfold more crimes are committed, of a violent description, than in Germany, England, and France. The opinions of the jurists and statistical writers in Prussia, are strongly pronounced upon this subject; and I need not dwell upon what all your Lordships know, the regular system of even compulsory education, which prevails both there, and in some parts of Switzerland."

If Lord Brougham was well informed, Spain surely deserved some notice at the hands of Dr. Poulding; or are we to imagine that the Rebekah of self-conviction, introduced Sweden for the curse which was due to Spain the elder-born in crime?

A closer inspection of the state of the Schools in 1843, gives the following results:—

Description of 65 Schools, in 13 Bishoprics.	Classification of Scholars.					Total.	Sums paid to Teachers.	Number of Teachers.
	Nobles.	Priests.	Officials.	Burghers,	Peasants.			
							Rix dlrs.	
Gymnasia . .	127	560	758	442	433	2,320	193,005	487
Classical Schools	449	1,054	2,697	2,031	1,257	7,488		
Arithmetical .	160	226	1,407	1,370	2,454	6,119		
New elementary	125	253	508	216	91	1,190		
Total. . .	861	2,993	5,370	4,559	4,235	17,117	193,005	487

If, therefore, only four thousand two hundred and thirty-five children of the lower classes were at schools in 1843, in Sweden, it may safely be affirmed that any prevalent vices amongst the peasantry of a population of nearly three millions and a quarter, must have originated from some other causes than the abundance of national means of education.

In RUSSIA, there is, so to speak, no National Education: there are a few large, and well conducted institutions, but they do not influence the mass of the people. So long ago as in the last century, Dr. Clarke commented on the partial sufficiency of the efforts which had then been made by the government; and it is well known that the coarse but shrewd mind of Peter the Great, failed not to perceive the advantages incident to the redemption of a country from barbarism; but the lover of education must be shocked to learn that the school-going proportion of the sixty millions of Russia, is actually less than one in three hundred.

A table furnished by the Minister of Education, in a report to the Emperor, in 1846, gives the following summary of all schools, colleges, and universities in the Empire.

Universities, Lycea, and High Schools.....	10	Scholars	4339
Grammar Schools, Nobles' Schools.....	96	„	25,714
Civil Schools, Parish, and other Elementary Schools, also Private Schools.....	3,412	„	165,766
Total..	3,518		195,819

Districts.	School Directions.		Number of Schools.		Teachers and Assistants.		Number of Scholars.	
	1846.	1849.	1845.	1846.	1845.	1846.	1845.	1846.
EUROPE.								
St. Petersburgh	6	6	460	332	690	605	17,709	16,628
Moscow	9	9	354	367	1,129	1,131	19,298	20,387
Kasan	9	9	216	223	818	844	12,123	13,213
Charkow	7	6	236	227	858	862	12,505	11,684
Kiew	5	5	175	179	721	761	10,009	10,286
Dorpat	4	4	301	298	242	238	10,340	10,454
White Russia .	6	6	258	256	824	835	12,813	13,204
Odessa ....,	6	6	129	130	407	411	8,034	8,419
ASIA.								
Caucasia ...	1	2	21	38	105	186	2,370	3,232
Siberia	4	4	68	273	213	204	3,290	3,366
	57	57	2,158	2,133	6,007	6,167	108,491	110,988
Poland	...	...	1,146	1,181	...	...	63,111	68,060

From this table we learn that in the small State of Massachusetts there are many more pupils than in the whole Russian Empire, while the population is more than thirty times greater than that of Massachusetts.

The clergy of the Greek church are bound by strict rules to keep schools; and consequently there is a supposed provision for at least one school in every parish. The report of the Minister does not declare whether this duty is fulfilled in Russia or not. Every grammar school in Russia has a school library, (for the use of teachers and scholars,) containing occasionally but one hundred and eighty volumes. One at Moscow, in a foundation school, has eleven thousand three hundred and fifteen; others have two or three thousand.

The education department at St. Petersburgh causes school books to be printed and distributed. The number officially distributed in 1846, is stated to have been one hundred and sixty-two thousand.

Private persons have occasionally made munificent gifts in support of education. Count Demidow founded three prizes in the academy of St. Petersburgh—one of five thousand roubles banco, to which two thousand roubles are added to defray the expense of printing. Eight other prizes of two thousand five hundred roubles each, are distributed from the same foundation.

Before turning my glance westward from Siberia, I may here mention that the Empire of China is a remarkable instance of the success of a national system of education; it is true that, ostensibly, the schools are not supported in the same manner as in America, in Prussia, &c.: but from the palace of the Emperor to the hovel of the unworthiest field labourer, there is, throughout the Empire, a reverence for letters, and a conviction that on the parent devolves the weighty responsibility of shaping the moral aspect of his child; and we see that, though not to the Chinese was announced the commandment, (the only one to which a promise is attached) that parents shall be honoured, yet as in China, the substance of the commandment has been more rigidly kept than amongst any other known people, so in China has followed, to a greater extent than elsewhere, the realization of the promise. Venerable dynasties have in other climes been swept away, and the builders of the world's wonders have even been forgotten; but while Egyptian, Assyrian, Greek and Roman, have, in their turn, bent before the scythe of time, the filial respect which pervades the morality of China, has saved her, and her alone, from the rapid decay around. Her political system is doubtless rotten to the core, and it may be said that the vast empire which it misrules, coheres rather by want of energy for disturbance, than

by any vitality of its government. It is as if the original political element had proved so feeble that, while it perished from inanition, the transition from life to death was not attended by the sad but active process by which, generally, bodies that have had life are decomposed. But the reverence paid to the fathers of families, the veneration in which learning and the doctrines of Confucius are held, and the fact that it is from the Emperor that literary distinctions are derived, have bound the whole empire in one vast system of mental culture, of whose fruits all are ambitious, and in whose vices none can be made to believe.

I have heard it noticed with surprise in the Australian Colonies, that all, or nearly all, of the Chinese immigrants can read, and when we remember that their written characters present numerous difficulties to the learner, we might indeed be surprised at the amount of learning possessed by the Chinese peasantry, if we ignore the fact that, throughout the Empire, the acquisition of literary science is deemed the highest object of earthly ambition. The profession of letters is the most honourable; next to it may be ranked that of the followers of agriculture; and the ὁι πολλοι, merchants, shopkeepers, and soldiers bring up the undistinguished rear ranks of society. Teachers and tutors are looked upon with the utmost respect, and in each town and village, not only are there many families of the better class who employ and treat tutors with distinction; but there are also schools, in which the youth of the village of all classes may join together to obtain a knowledge of the "sublime implements" used in literary composition. The schoolrooms are public property, and fortunately the respect which is entertained for learning, renders it not a difficult task to keep such buildings in repair. There are many occasions on which, by examinations, and by encouragement familiar and official, parents and mandarins assist in the great work of education; but the great desideratum in spreading literary knowledge, viz., a

willing people, already exists in China, and needs no fostering hand.

I need not enumerate many details concerning the Chinese system, but may conclude this chapter by mentioning, that though there are no universities in China, there are in every city halls appointed for the examination of students and graduates, and that after each examination, the names of those on whom distinction has been conferred, may be seen figuring in the "*chop*," or proclamation, which is posted up on the walls of several public places, as well as at the entrance of the Doctors' Hall. Keying, the late Governor of Canton, was looked upon with much respect by the Chinese savans, and I remember that on one occasion when I visited a country house of a rich mandarin (a son of one of the old Hong merchants of the city), after the various collections of art and curiosity which the premises contained had been shewn to us, the cicerone pointed out with unfeigned admiration, several long labels on the walls of a choice sitting-room, and reverentially told us that they had been written by Keying himself, and given to the owner of the house. These labels contained as usual some wise and moral sentences, extracted from the works of Confucius, which the Chinese thus place ever before them.

CHAPTER VIII.

In SPAIN, those who grudge to the common people the faculty of intelligence, have a good test of the soundness of their views; there are schools and universities of a certain kind in the country, but they are far from being institutions calculated to expand the domain of intellect.

The Cortes did indeed during their short rule, after the Revolution of 1820, ordain (IX. Cap. Constitution,) that there should be a system of education open to all who wished to learn, but this ordinance was swept away in 1823, by the Restoration, and the effort to confer education was thus made a failure except as regarded some few institutions for the higher classes;—the old cathedral and conventual schools were restored to their pristine gloom, and the Spaniards remain benighted with ignorance in the midst of the light of the nineteenth century. It is but a short time ago that a decree was made, prohibitory of the teaching of philosophy in the universities, and thus the countrymen of Cervantes have been compelled to plod on with their eyes closed upon nature. In very many villages there is no semblance of a school.

In SARDINIA, also, Denominationalists might not long since have boasted that they possessed a field obstructive of success. After the resuscitation of the Jesuits, in 1814, the care of education was restored to them, and they had influ-

ence enough to procure a royal decree, prohibiting the learning of reading and writing to all who did not possess *capital* of fifteen hundred lire, and sealing the sciences to all who had not an *income* of the same sum.

Those who lament the late continental disturbances are, perhaps, sometimes forgetful of the husbandry which provoked them.

Sardinia now boasts many schools, and seems determined to organize thoroughly a school system.

In the PAPAL STATES education is at a low ebb:—the ignorance of the people will doubtless be admitted by those who reflect that the present Pope, so general a favorite as to have been at one time extolled by Protestants as a reformer, and to be now lauded by Cardinal Wiseman as the great Protestant bugbear, was ignominiously driven from his dominions in 1848. It seems almost a pity that on his return one of his first acts (according to the English press) was to neutralize the efforts which had been made by the short-lived Republic, in the matter of schools, one of his Holiness's Acts, being an ordinance to prevent girls from learning to write without special permission. I say that it seems a pity that the worthy Pope acted as he did, because if ignorance made his subjects err, the best preventive against future error would have been to enlarge the means of procuring knowledge.

The celebrated colleges of the Propaganda, La Sapienza, and the Gregorian College, may be mentioned here, but my limits do not allow me to dilate upon them; I may mention, however, that a few years ago one of a Society of Jesuits, published in Rome a work gravely impugning the received theories of the positions of the planetary worlds, and affirming that the sun was about the figure of a good-sized warming-pan. This work has been attributed to Dr. Cullen, but he only belonged to the society of which the author was a member.

PORTUGAL is in a wretched state of ignorance; in 1836 it was calculated that one in eighty-eight of the population received instruction.

In FRANCE, also, the education given is totally inadequate to the wants of the nation; much has been talked of, but little has been done, and as it is the fashion with a few unenquiring persons to attribute the revolution of 1789 to the excess of education afforded to the French, and as I have heard this absurd reasoning applied by way of proof that National Education is an evil, I shall dwell a little on some of the real causes which immediately led to the anarchical period of the reign of terror. France was ignorant in those days; long afterwards, when education had been improved, (in 1836,) the amount of educated persons, most of *them* being ill-educated, was only one in twenty of the population.

But I do not wish to advance any rash theories concerning political movements in a foreign country:—let me rather quote a standard French author, the Chevalier Millon:—

"La France eut le douloureux spectacle de voir Louis XV. plongé dans la mollesse et la crapule, faire couler les trèsors de l' état pour procurer à sa honteuse favorite de quoi étaler un faste et un luxe de reine. Les impots furent donc multipliés pour satisfaire les fantaisies du monarque et de sa vile courtesane. On peut dire que le sceptre du roi, tour-a-tour le jouet de l' amour, de l' ambition et de l' avarice, devient entre les mains de la Dubarry, la marotte de la folie * * *. Les depredateurs, le derèglement des favoris etaient a leur comble * * *. Les bienfaits de la capitale et des riches particuliers donné pour la construction et une nouvelle administration d' un Hotel Dieu furent employés à une autre usage; l' argent qui devait servir à racheter les Francais esclaves chez les Barbaresques fut impitoyablement diverti de son objet. *Vers la fin de son règne il n'y avait ni liberté, ni propriété réelle. Les places de confiance, les évêches, les grades militaires etaient vendus*

*au plus offrant. * * * En un mot Louis* XV. *laissa à son successeur un royaume sans argent, sans crédit, sans lois, sans troupes, et sans moralité.*"

When a nation was thus misgoverned, and was withal ignorant: when not only permitting, but sharing in the debaucheries and simony of the court, were to be seen the ministers of the religion professed by the State; when, under the fostering hand of that State, an injured people, (the American,) had already vindicated its right to discard oppression, who can wonder that the populace was led by wild declamation to rabid excesses? When the Roman Catholic Bishop of Perigueux—"presentait a la convention sa femme, tirèe 'dit-il' de la classe plébéienne des sans culottes, et recevait du president pour prix de son subjection l' accolade fraternelle;" when many clergymen of the same church abjured with apparent pride the religion of Christendom, one of them asserting, that "la terre ne serait heureuse, que quand il n'y avait plus ni prêtre, ni roi sur la surface;"—when finally, Gobet, Archbishop of Paris, cast at the feet of the Communist President, his episcopal cross, and abjured the Christian faith; who can wonder that an unenlightened rabble was led away to follow the example of its late chief minister, and madly, as well as impiously dressed up the shabby idol of reason for its future worship? Had the populace been merely acquainted with every day truths, they would not have been so politically misguided as they eventually found themselves; —had they comprehended the vital essence of Christianity, no demagogue would have wasted his labour, or risked his life, in publicly defaming the objects of religious reverence. I may at a future time have occasion to enlarge further upon the causes of the French Revolution, and shall, therefore, say no more here than to point out that no irreligion or ignorance in France, at the date of the Revolution of 1789-90, can by any means be imputed to a deficiency of teachers connected with the Roman Catholic Church.

The population was estimated at twenty-five millions; the number of clergy, secular and regular, with monks, nuns, and inferior ministers of the church was, just before the Revolution, four hundred and sixty thousand and seventy-eight; so that if each person connected with the church had but taken charge of about fifty-four fellow subjects' religion and instruction, there would have been no untaught French, men or women:—seeing, however, that more than half the nation could neither read nor write, we find that there could not have been, (including old and young,) twenty-five scholars or disciples for each teacher, and we are led to confess that all the scholars were dull, or most of the teachers lazy. But it may be alleged that the church wanted pecuniary means:—I find in De Laborde's Spain that an estimate made in 1787, proved the revenues of the church in France to be one hundred and seventy-eight millions of livres, or more than seven millions and a quarter of English pounds sterling. Unless, therefore, it be urged, that too many cooks spoiled the broth, it may fairly be doubted whether such a heavy phalanx as four hundred and sixty thousand persons, aided by so heavy a purse as that which they held, were more ready than competent to confer education on the nation; and the mode in which instruction was administered, renders it matter of little wonder that when the roused rabble tore down the emblems of piety, they waged conterminous war against learning; they knew not the uses, and were strangers to the consolations, of both one and the other, and, like the followers of Jack Cade, were likely to hang any man who had "a book in his pocket with red letters in it." Whoever has looked into the Livre Rouge of Louis XV.'s reign will find material for qualifying his surprise, at the excesses of the people, and the renegadism of the turncoat priests, on viewing how extensively the latter shielded and profited by vice, and how extortionately the former had been ground down, in order to compel them to contribute to royal and courtly debauchery.

After a time, however, the State professed to take education under its care, and laws were accordingly enacted; but they remained a dead letter. In 1816, a law was made providing that every commune should be bound to afford instruction to all children within it, and gratuitously to the indigent;—but the majority of the communes were unable to provide salaries for competent schoolmasters, and the law remained inert. In 1830, out of two hundred and ninety-four thousand nine hundred and seventy-five persons subject to the conscription, it could only be ascertained that one hundred and twenty-one thousand and seventy-nine could read and write:—one hundred and fifty-three thousand six hundred and thirty-five could neither read nor write at all;—twelve thousand eight hundred and one could barely read, and the accomplishments of the rest could not be discovered. In the face of these, and similar facts, it has been my lot to hear a respectable looking man, gravely assert, (when lecturing in a church,) that the advanced state of popular education brought about the revolution in France. There are some men against whom the allegation of facts is useless; when they find that their cherished, but false conclusions, are contradicted by facts, they shrug their shoulders, as did the obstinate Frenchman, and say with solemnity, "Tant pis pour les faits;"—and then eye their opponent with a determination which seems to imply that with a stone for a fish a layman ought to be well content, if the stone be but hurled at him by a divine.

I find that in Michelet's Book on the People, he declares in 1836, the state of education in France was scandalously neglected. "A journeyman baker in Paris earns as much as six schoolmasters. Shameful! infamous!—The nation, we blush to confess it, which pays those who instruct the people worse than any nation in Europe is France. Mr. Lorain, in his Tableau de l' instruction primaire, an official work of the greatest importance, in which he has collected the reports of

four hundred and ninety inspectors who visited all the schools in 1833, could hardly find expressions sufficiently strong to describe the state of abject misery in which the masters were found. He declares (p. 60,) that there were some who earned in all one hundred francs, some sixty, and some fifty. For this they have to wait a long time, and sometimes are not paid at all. It is not indeed money which they receive; each family puts aside what is worst amongst its provisions for the schoolmaster, against when he comes on Sunday, begging from door to door with a bag on his back. He is not an acceptable visitor, appearing, as he does, to claim his little share of potatoes. People look at him as robbing the pigs, &c. Since the publication of Mr. Lorain's Reports, new schemes have been established, but the condition of the old masters remains unimproved."

It is well known that Guizot endeavoured to do much for education, and it might have been almost hoped that he would succeed in persuading the people to allow their condition to be ameliorated.* Those, however, who have watched the signs of the times, could not but dread the appearance of a bargain between an aspiring sect and a reckless debauchee, whose interest it has been to coalesce with that sect, in such a manner, as regards honesty, as that with which his illustrious uncle found it necessary to make known his pretensions to Mahomedanism:—the bargain is, doubtless, as advantageous to the *roué* as it is to the Holy See, and the Holy See may endure to repent many more such bargains; but a short life may outlast the temporal advantages, (and those alone he aims at,) which Louis Napoleon will derive from his union with modern Ultra-montanism. People cannot remain intelligent and slavish:—any tyrant, however foolish,

* One of the singularities observable in the course of education in France, is the tax which was imposed upon learning in the provinces: sixteen francs annually were paid for the privilege of learning Latin, in all the Colleges, and the tribute was given over to the goodly pouch of the University of Paris.

may decimate the people he misgoverns, as Nero found it easy to destroy the patricians and senators of Rome; but there his power ceases;—a child may mar the beauty of the most delicate creations, a bull may smash the whole contents of a china shop, but the strength of the one, and the folly of the other, are alike powerless to restore the works they can so easily destroy; and just in the same way, Louis Napoleon may crush the press, may stifle speech, may murder liberty, and fraternize with the assassin, until France shall have become again a blot among nations, but he cannot leave her intellectually great while she remains in gyves: —he may have none but obedient subjects, he "may make a solitude and call it peace," but he will only add another example to the truth of the Homeric maxim, that the day which sees men enslaved, sees them deprived of half their virtue.

In the truthful and therefore beautiful words of Goldsmith—

"Each nobler aim, repressed by long control,
Now sinks at last, or feebly mans the soul;
While low delights, succeeding fast behind,
In happier meanness occupy the mind;
As in those domes, where Cæsars once bore sway,
Defaced by time, and tottering in decay,
There, in the ruin, heedless of the dead,
The shelter-seeking peasant builds his shed,
And wondering men could want the larger pile,
Exults, and owns his cottage with a smile.
My soul turn from them! turn we to survey,
Where rougher climes a nobler race display,
Where the bleak Swiss their stormy mountains tread,
And force a churlish soil for scanty bread.

Taking advantage of the ethereal coursers, on which the poet winged his flight, let me also alight in SWITZERLAND, concerning education in which, though I have failed to procure any late, detailed statistics, no lover of education, will fail to recollect not only that education is in an advanced state, but also that there three benefactors, to whom education is infinitely indebted, have worked out

their charitable views.* I mean Pestalozzi, Von Fellenberg, and Oberlin. The true Christian devotion of the last named pervaded indeed his life so thoroughly, that it was not alone to the education of his fellow-creatures, that his enlarged benevolence was directed; but yet there was no greater friend to the diffusion of knowledge; nor is there any recorded instance of greater benefits arising from its diffusion than in the district which Oberlin adorned. He is also to be looked upon as the originator of Infant Schools.†

Of Pestalozzi, particular mention is necessary; since it is to the spread of his views that the improved capacities of the age, in an educational manner, are indebted.

Like many other prompters of improvement Pestalozzi was not doomed to see the triumph of his theory, and like many others he toiled and pined amidst misfortune, and comparative failure of his hopes: but it is now generally, if not universally admitted, that the system of expanding the intellect, by proceeding carefully "from the known to the unknown," took its definite rise from him. Many other teachers may have practically exemplified the theory before his day; indeed, like most other philosophical truths, it is deducible from, if not declared in the teaching of Socrates; but no one before Pestalozzi so defined the task of teaching,

* In Appenzell, Neuchâtel, Basel, Aargau, Thurgau, and several other cantons, it is considered that every child receives education. It is compulsory in some; in some the expense is partly defrayed by the Poor-fund; in some the communes are required to provide means; and in others the State furnishes funds. In Thurgau, two-fifths of the Land-tax are devoted to education; and it is also compulsorily given.

† Before Oberlin's superintendence of the Ban de la Roche commenced, it was the custom for some poor creature, who was unable to do other work, to be placed as the teacher:—not because he could teach, but to act as a sort of herdsman for his little flock:—one old man actually considered that he had been degraded from his previous occupation of pigman, when, on becoming too feeble to keep up with the pigs, he was translated to the office of village schoolmaster. Some years ago, in England, a country parish, of which I have heard, had an almost similar school; and as the old teacher (or master) was nearly blind, it was seldom that he was not outwitted by the children who wished to play truant, and who, having given proof of attendance by answering to their names in the morning, felt quite justified in slipping out of school immediately afterwards.

as to shew that by this principle all efforts to instruct should be regulated. The parrot-like recitation of uncomprehended truths or symbols, seemed to Pestalozzi absolutely useless; and he saw that in place of attempting to produce mechanical accuracy in the minds of pupils, in place of storing their memories with facts so far beyond their understanding, that, after the lapse of a few years, they could not fail to be forgotten, it was expedient to ascertain exactly, how much each pupil knew, and to add to his knowledge step by step, fact by fact, in regular and continuous sequences; proceeding, as already stated, from that which was already known, to that which, though unknown, seemed consequent upon what was known, and was, therefore, at once seized upon by the mind, with understanding, and probability of retention. In knowledge, no one can afford to drop any link: to lose sight of any sequence:—and to ignore this truth in education, would be no wiser than, in shewing a person an intricate road, which he is desired to remember, to transport him in the dark, across many a moor or meadow.

Under efficient simultaneous teaching, efforts which children make to spy out their intellectual way, have all the above objects in view; and by successfully attaining that object, an admixture of simultaneous teaching first became popular, and has now become general, in all countries where zealous men have made it a labour of love, to devote their energies to the advancement of sound education.

The other celebrated name which I have mentioned, as adorning the annals of Swiss educational efforts, is that of Fellenberg, who was a friend of Pestalozzi, and founded at Hofwyl, in Switzerland, the most remarkable establishment of its kind in Europe. It comprised various schools of the state of which the following is a summary, made a few years ago. The industrial schools for the poor contained six hundred and sixty-one pupils; higher scientific and agricultural schools contained seven hundred and eighty-three pupils; and the

teachers' seminary, or normal branch, contained two hundred and forty-seven pupils.

Fellenberg devoted a large private fortune to the realization of his plans, and the establishment of Hofwyl was situate on his estate, and consisted of about three hundred and fifty acres, which were cultivated by the pupils. It can scarcely be called enthusiastic to assert, that if the colony of Victoria possessed such institutions as that at Hofwyl, supplemented by primary schools wherever thirty children could attend daily, it would so leap forward in the race of nations, and might, despite the dangerous snare of its mineral treasures, rank so high in the moral and religious scale of excellence, as to leave an example to which future colonies would point the finger, not of scorn, but of emulation.

Hereafter I shall attempt to show that all educational institutions, whether industrial or primary, ought to be based on a general, charitable, anti-dogmatic principle. I now pass on to narrate the steps which were taken in SCOTLAND to give education to the people.

In 1494 the Scotch Legislature made an enactment that all barons and substantial freeholders throughout the realm, should, under penalty of twenty pounds Scotch, send their children to school from the age of *six* to *nine* years, and then to other seminaries to be instructed in the laws, in order that the country might be possessed of persons properly qualified to discharge the duties of sheriffs, and to fill other civil offices. In 1615, an Act of the Privy Council of Scotland empowered the bishops, along with a majority of the landlords or heritors, to establish a school in every parish in their respective dioceses, and to assess the lands for that purpose. This Act was confirmed by an Act of the Scotch Parliament, in 1633, and schools were accordingly established in several parts of the country: but the amount of education within the reach of the mass of the community, remained lamentably meagre; the state of the lower orders

of the Scotch, in 1698, is forcibly described by Fletcher of Saltoun, who, perhaps, could not then divine to how great an extent the condition of the country was about to be ameliorated by the Act of William and Mary, in 1696, the operation of which I am about to describe, and the need of which is remarkably pourtrayed in the following words of Fletcher;—

"There are at this day, (1698,) in Scotland, besides a great many families very meanly provided for by the church boxes, with others, who living upon bad food, fall into various diseases, two hundred thousand people begging from door to door. These are not only no way advantageous, but a very grievous burden to so poor a country. And although the number of them be, perhaps, double to what it was formerly, by reason of this present great distress, yet in all times there has been about a hundred thousand of these vagabonds, who have lived without any regard or subjection, either to the laws of the land, or even those of God and nature. *No magistrate could ever discover which way one in a hundred of these wretches died, or that ever they were baptized.* Many murders have been discovered amongst them; and they are a most unspeakable oppression to poor tenants, who, if they do not give bread, or some kind of provision, to perhaps forty such villains in a day, are sure to be insulted by them. In years of plenty, many thousands of them meet together in the mountains, where they feast and riot for many days, and at country weddings, markets, burials, and other the like public occasions, they are to be seen, both men and women, perpetually drunk, cursing, blaspheming and fighting together. 'These are such outrageous disorders, that it were better for the nation they were sold for the gallies or the West Indies, than that they should continue any longer to be a burden and a curse upon us."

It has been conjectured that the writer of the above statement was misinformed as to the numbers of the beggars he

describes, but it is established beyond a doubt that the statement is true in the main, since it is corroborated by State Papers of the period referred to. Moreover, Fletcher's good faith is considered unimpeachable, and his statement is circumstantial, not vague.

Let us now trace the results of the celebrated Act of 1696, which founded the Scotch parochial school system, and having done so, we shall find that the triumph of education was never more distinguished than by the success of that system.

The preamble of the Act declares that "considering how prejudicial the want of schools in many places has been, and how beneficial the establishing and settling thereof will be to this church and kingdom, therefore His Majesty, &c." The Act then ordered the establishment of a school, and the appointment of a schoolmaster in every parish; and further, that the landlords should be obliged to build a schoolhouse and a dwelling house for the use of the master; and that they should pay him a salary exclusive of the fees of his scholars, which should not fall short of five pounds eleven shillings and a penny, nor exceed eleven pounds two shillings and two pence per year.* The power of nominating and appointing the schoolmaster was vested in the landlords and the minister of the parish; and they were also invested with the power of fixing the fees to be paid by the scholars. The general superintendence of the schools was vested in the presbyteries within which they were respectively situated; and the same power could suspend, dismiss, or censure the teachers;—nor was there any appeal from their sentence.

The salutary effects of such a law may easily be imagined to have been great; and it would have gladdened the heart of the old patriot of Saltoun, if he could have foreseen that

* The value of L.5 seems now absurdly small as a temptation; but even after the Act was passed, the rent of a house in Glasgow, which would now be L.200, was only L.5 of current money; and therefore L.11 with school fees, house, and garden, sufficed to maintain a respectable appearance in 1696.

in the short space of fifty-nine years from the publication of the statement I have quoted from him, the national improvement was so marked, that in the Autumn assizes, or circuits, (for 1757,) no one person would be found guilty, in any part of the country, of a capital crime; and that beggary and destitution would have comparatively disappeared. Other laws conduced to bring about such a change; but it was by means of the parochial schools, that those laws were made intelligible to, and respected by the people.*

The advanced education of the Scotch, as compared with that of the inhabitants of other countries, became notorious, and the prosperity of the nation was commensurate with its educational blessings;—in process of time, however, it was found necessary to increase the salaries of the teachers, and in 1802 an Act was passed, raising the minimum salary to sixteen pounds thirteen shillings and four pence, and the maximum to twenty-two pounds fourteen shillings and five pence, exclusive of fees.

It was considered inexpedient to raise the fixed salary to such an extent as to render the teacher careless as to the attendance of scholars, and the consequent amount of fees; and it was also deemed necessary to guard against the possibility of extortion of such fees as would tend virtually to exclude the mass of the community from the schools.

In 1831, it was estimated that the fees and salaries of the

* A friend of mine has hazarded the startling assertion, that the adoption of the National System of Education in Ireland, brought about the potatoe disease and the famine in that country. The full benefits of the system are not yet developed in a moral point of view, and I believe few will contend that its vegetable influence can be easily estimated, (unless upon the principle on which a PUNCH correspondent describes a person who stood on some orange peel and slipped down in the street in 1846, and got up swearing that his fall was owing to Sir Robert Peel's treachery) but I may safely hazard a prophecy, that ere sixty years shall have matured the national system in Ireland, the moral and religious tone of the Irish will have been infinitely benefited; and I am charitable enough to wish my potatoe-friend to behold the truth of my prediction; meantime I may remark, that a very exemplary character is required from a vegetarian who would not plead guilty to a charge of impiety for declaring that because John Jones sends his children to a National School, the Almighty revenges himself by afflicting Samuel Smith's potatoes; and supposing this to be true, how did my mealy-mouthed friend discover it?

Scotch teachers ranged, (exclusive of the benefit of a house, rent-free,) from forty-five to sixty pounds per annum; and the fees were reckoned at about two shillings and sixpence to three shillings per quarter for learning English; four shillings or four shillings and sixpence for writing and arithmetic; and from five shillings to seven shillings and sixpence for Latin and Greek.

One great advantage of the Scotch parochial schools was this:—though they were, to a certain extent, denominational, inasmuch as they taught with a Presbyterian bias; they were also national to a great degree, for the nation was almost universally Presbyterian:—no rival schools were, therefore, encouraged by the state, and the whole of the money expended in education was employed in one channel, without the wastefulness of dissipation amongst various sects, and without a sacrifice of principle, by the indiscriminate support of any heterodoxy which any teachers might be inclined to inculcate.

It is, moreover, a common assertion, that the duties of teachers in Scotland, were mainly those which are now undertaken by national teachers in Ireland; the responsibilities of parents and teachers being cheerfully acknowledged and acted up to as regarded religious instruction, and the sphere of the teacher being consequently separate to a certain extent, from the peculiar provinces of the clergy, and of families; while at the same time the recognition of different, though parallel duties, produced no inharmonious conflict.

I say this is a common assertion, for it has been very often made to me; but I am in no position to confirm it by reference to my personal observation. There was, so to speak, no sectarian instruction laid down as part of the curriculum of the schools; but general religious precepts, such as no diligent teacher would abstain from giving on suitable occasions, were given in the Scotch schools, as they are in the national schools of modern times:—the Bible was usually

employed as one of the class books, but beyond that, there was no special religious instruction professed: and it is the declared opinion of many pious men, that the use of the Bible as a class book has been found, in many instances, to subvert the good intentions of those who have ordered its use in an unceremonious manner, and that in consequence the Sacred Volume has been looked upon with less reverence by pupils than it would have been if its use had not been associated with the mechanical drudgery of a school. I am citing this as an opinion only, not as a fact.

The question of National Education is not yet at rest in Scotland; there has been even during the past two years an earnest agitation respecting the steps which it behoves the nation to take, and that agitation has by no means eliminated the multiplicity of extraneous matters with which so important a question has been clogged, in the endeavour to distort it so as to suit the particular views of each party. In preference, however, to giving a narration of pending disputes, I shall allude to them only as far as to say that all the disputants seem to concur in the expediency of making determined efforts to uphold the cause of education to the utmost; and as I concluded my remarks on education in America, by quoting the words of one of her distinguished sons, so now I shall embellish my pages with the eloquent and nervous language of Dr. Chalmers, one of the many great men whom Scotland has been proud to own.

The document I quote from was a paper written by Dr. Chalmers, in 1847, to Mr. Fox Maule, and as it was written shortly before Dr. Chalmers' death, it may be looked upon as containing his matured deliberations on the subject of education.

"It were the best state of things that we had a Parliament sufficiently theological to discriminate between the right and the wrong in religion, and encourage or endow accordingly. But failing this, it seems to us the next best thing,

that in any public measure for helping on the education of the people, Government were to abstain from introducing the element of religion at all *into their part of the scheme;* and this, not because they held the matter to be insignificant—the contrary might be strongly expressed in the preamble of their act; but on the ground that in the present divided state of the Christian world, they would take no cognizance of, just because they would attempt no control over the religion of applicants for aid; leaving this matter entirely to the parties who had to do with the erection and management of the schools which they had been called upon to assist. A grant by the State upon this footing might be regarded as being appropriately and exclusively the expression of their value for a good secular education. The confinement for the time being, of any Government measure for schools to this object, we hold to be an imputation, not so much on the present state of our Legislature, as on the present state of the Christian world, now broken up into sects and parties innumerable, and seemingly incapable of any effort for so healing these wretched divisions as to present the rulers of our country with ought like such a clear and unequivocal majority of what is good and true, as might at once determine them to fix upon and to espouse it.

"It is this which has encompassed the Government with difficulties from which we can see no other mode of extrication than the one which we have ventured to suggest. And as there seems no reason why because of these unresolved differences, a public measure for the health of all—for the recreation of all—for the economic advancement of all—should be held in abeyance, there seems as little reason why, because of these differences a public measure for raising the general intelligence of all should be held in abeyance. Let the men, therefore, of all churches and all denominations alike hail such a measure, whether as carried into effect by a good education in letters or in any of the sciences; and

meanwhile, in these very seminaries, let that education in religion which the Legislature abstains from providing for, be provided for, as freely and amply as they will by those who have undertaken the charge of them. We should hope as the result of such a scheme, for a most wholesome rivalship on the part of many, in the great aim of rearing on the basis of their respective systems, a moral and Christian population, well taught in the principles and doctrines of the Gospel, along with being well taught in lessons of ordinary scholarship. Although no attempt should be made to regulate or enforce the lessons of religion in the inner hall of legislation, this will not prevent, but rather stimulate to a greater earnestness in the contest between truth and falsehood, between light and darkness, in the outer field of society; nor will the result of such a contest in favor of what is right and good, be at all the more unlikely, that the families of the land have been raised by the helping hand of the State to a higher platform than before, whether as respects their health, or their physical comfort, or their economic condition; or last of all their place in the scale of intelligence and learning. Religion would, under such a system, be the immediate product, not of legislation, but of the Christian and philanthropic zeal which would obtain throughout society at large. But it is well when what legislation does for the fulfilment of its object tends not to the impediment, but rather we apprehend to the furtherance of those great and higher objects which are in the contemplation of those whose desires are chiefly set on the immortal well-being of man. On the basis of these general views, I have two general remarks to offer, regarding the Government scheme of education.

"1.—I should not require a certificate of satisfaction with the religious progress of the scholars, from the managers of the schools, in order to their receiving the Government aid. Such a certificate from Unitarians or Roman Catholics, implies

the direct sanction or countenance by Government of their respective creeds; and the responsibility, not of allowing, but more than this, of requiring that these shall be taught to the children who attend. A bare allowance is but a general toleration, but a requirement involves in it all the mischief, and I would add the *guilt* of an indiscriminate endowment of truth and error.

"2.—I would suffer parents or natural guardians to select what parts of the education they wanted for their children I would not force arithmetic upon them, if all they wanted was writing and reading, and as little would I force the catechism or any part of the religious instructions that are given in schools, if all they wanted was a secular education. That the managers of the Church of England schools should have the power to impose their catechism upon the children of Dissenters, and still more to compel their attendance at church, I regard as among the worst parts of the scheme. The above observations, it will be seen, meet many questions which might be put in regard to the applicability of the scheme to Scotland, or in regard to the use of the Douay version in Roman Catholic schools. I cannot conclude without expressing my despair of any great or general good being effected in the way of Christianizing our population, but through the medium of a Government, themselves Christian, and endowing the true religion, which I hold to be their imperative duty—not because it is the religion of the many, but because it is true. The scheme on which I have now ventured to offer these few observations, I should like to be adopted, not because it is absolutely the best, but only the best in existing circumstances. The endowment of the Roman Catholic religion by the State, I should deprecate as being ruinous to the country in all its interests.* Still I do not

* Dr. Chalmers may be pronounced too dogmatic in denouncing the Roman Catholic religion, and perhaps he is so; as a question of right to endowment whether for schools or churches, it is clear however, that they can claim no concessions in Protestant countries, to which they themselves afford no precedent in Roman Catholic countries; say, the Papal States.

look for the Christianity of the people, but through the medium of the Christianity of their rulers. This is a lesson taught historically in Scripture by what we read there of the influence which the personal character of the Jewish monarchs had on the moral and religious state of their subjects; it is taught experimentally by the impotence, now fully established, of the voluntary principle; last and most decisive of all, it is taught prophetically in the Book of Revelation, when told that then will the kingdoms of the earth (βασιλειαι or governing powers) become the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, or the Governments of the earth become Christian Governments."

CHAPTER IX.

IN ENGLAND much has been done for education, but much remains to be done. Munificent indeed are the charities of England, not only as regards schools, but every work to which the benevolence of the human mind can be directed; nevertheless, however unbounded may be the wealth of a country, and however freely that wealth may be bestowed, it is manifest and it is now generally acknowledged that in a matter like that of education, the work must be nationally undertaken if it is intended to be effectually carried out. However well lighted a few rich men's houses might be, if it were the fashion for each citizen to keep a lamp burning, instead of having cities lighted by means of combined efforts, there can be no doubt that the majority of houses would be ill-lighted in such a case, and that the cost of lighting a town, if such an individualized system should ever be attempted, would very soon fall more heavily than agreeably upon the voluntary martyrs who might for a while "hold up their farthing candle to the sun."

It is unnecessary to dwell at any length upon the various kinds of schools extant in England during the dark ages; we have seen that our great Alfred made it compulsory upon a person able to employ a plough, to procure also a teacher for his child; we have also noticed that during the turmoil of succeeding times, the efforts of Alfred were deprived of

their fruit; at one time, indeed, the state of England became in some respects gloomy as that of the continent; the dark ages spread their universal pall on all countries alike, but the storm-beaten shores of our island home were in some degree a safeguard for her children; and it is remarkable, that at no date did the people of England fail to assert their right to exercise free thought and action. For particular purposes particular powers were often delegated, but to whomsoever any trust was confided, it was confided with an understanding that the national power remained supreme. In the reign of the dastardly John, our ancestors took occasion to declare their independence by extorting from their feudal lord the celebrated Charter of Runnymede, from which the quotation of its most remarkable passage will, perhaps, prove acceptable. "*Nullus liber homo capiatur, vel imprisonetur, aut disseisiatur de libero tenemento suo vel libertatibus, vel liberis consuetudinibus suis, aut utlagetur, aut exuletur, aut aliquo modo destruatur, nec super eum ibimus, nec super eum mittemus, nisi per legale judicium parium suorum, vel per legem terræ. Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus, aut differemus rectum vel justitiam.*" And we must observe, that the law of the land here spoken of, was nothing ultramontane, for we find it manfully asserted to be otherwise (soon afterwards,) in the reign of Henry III., at the Parliament of Merton, when in reply to an attempt on the part of the prelates to introduce a portion of the canon law, "All the earls and barons with one voice answered, that they would not change the laws of England which had hitherto been used and approved."* Again, in the reign of

* Hallam in speaking of the reign of Henry III., says, "The common lawyers soon began to assert the supremacy of their jurisdiction by issuing writs of prohibition, whenever the ecclesiastical tribunals passed the bounds which approved use had established. Little accustomed to such control, the proud hierarchy chafed under the bit; several parochial synods reclaim against the pretensions of laymen to judge the anointed ministers whom they were bound to obey; the cognisance of rights of patronage and breaches of contract is boldly asserted;—but firm and cautious, favored by the nobility, though not much by the king, the judges receded not a step, and ultimately fixed a barrier which the church was forced to respect."—HALLAM'S MIDDLE AGES.

Richard II., we find it stated by the nobility, that "the realm of England had never been unto this hour, neither by the consent of our lord the king, and the lords of parliament, shall it ever be, ruled or governed by the civil law."* Nor was it only by the nobles and people that the independence of England was asserted: Henry II, by the Constitutions of Clarendon, showed that the Crown could in this matter be leagued with the people; and the distinguishing features of English jurisprudence, of English freedom, and of all the institutions of which Englishmen may justly be proud, are (considered in relation to the Crown,) owing far more to the sagacity of Edward I., than to the violent Henry, or even to his politic daughter, Elizabeth.

Thus much, by way of prelude, lest it should be alleged that any particular mode of governing schools which was tolerated in the twelfth or succeeding centuries, had necessarily become enduring and unsusceptible of change. He would be hardy indeed who would deny that the Parliament and Crown had a right to regulate the matters of schools, when it is plain that they claimed not only that, but a thorough indefeasible right of supervision, temporal or otherwise, throughout the land. Bearing this in mind, it may be noticed that in England, as upon the continent, the teaching of schools fell into the hands of the clergy, who were the only educated *class*. There were a few other educated *persons*, but there was no other educated class. Naturally, therefore, the clergy became the sole teachers; and we find that in the 78th Canon of the Church of England, it is ordered that the curate of a parish shall be the schoolmaster also, if he be willing. But this selection of clergymen as

* "But the statute always stood unrepealed, (viz., 16 Rich. 2, c. 5, præmunire,) and it is a satisfactory proof of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the legislature, that in the concordat made by Martin V. at the Council of Constance, with the English nation, we find no mention made of reservation of benefices, of annates, and the other principal grievances of that age; our ancestors disdaining to accept by compromise with the pope any modification or even confirmation of their statute law."—HALLAM'S MIDDLE AGES.

teachers, was in no manner intended to weaken the general right of the nation in regard to schools; and I think it proper to quote here, in support of my position, the following passage from a letter addressed on 17th March, 1848, to the Rev. W. Butler, (Vicar of Wantage in England,) by the Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education. The reverend gentleman had asked for distinct information as to the willingness of the Committee of the Privy Council to allow a management clause to be framed, "giving a general power of visitor to a bishop, leaving the term to its usual acceptation."

In reply the Committee informed Mr. Butler, that "the general power of visitor, where it exists, gives to the bishop not merely an appellate authority over the management of the school, but also a power to originate enquiries, and thereupon to direct changes, in the regulations of the schools subject to it. Neither by the common nor by the statute law has this power been extended to any class of schools. It is true that there are schools, like other institutions, in which by virtue of the statutes of the founder, the bishop of the diocese, or any other bishop, may be visitor; *but the law has not conceded the visitatorial power to the bishop over any school whatever.* The extent to which the episcopal authority in those matters has been carried, is that, with respect to grammar schools founded in the reign of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, the right of the diocese to license the schoolmaster has been recognised by legal authority. *As to other classes of schools, the Courts have decided that the episcopal authority is not necessary even for this purpose.* * * * * The Committee of Council are therefore without authority to establish for the first time the visitatorial power in parochial schools; and they are of opinion that such extension is wholly unnecessary, and would be contrary to the principles which have governed the civil courts, to the spirit of all legislation for the last two centuries, and to the will of Par-

liament. If a proposal were made to Parliament to establish in parochial schools either the episcopal authority to license the schoolmaster as in grammar schools, or the visitatorial power, as in certain endowed schools, the attention of Parliament would be called to the total change which has occurred in the political and social state of England and Wales, since the grammar schools of the reign of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, or the endowed schools referred to, were founded; and the great difference in the origin, modes of support, and objects of those schools and parochial schools. Such an application would probably also give rise to an enquiry respecting the condition of those schools, as illustrative of the efficacy of this authority in securing the success of the religious instruction in them, or in maintaining their efficiency in other respects."

To His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury also, the Committee gave the same reply in the following manner (by their Secretary Mr. Kay Shuttleworth,) "My Lords have given their careful attention to the precedents afforded by the statutes of ancient foundations, and to the state of the law with respect to grammar and other schools. They do not find that the law has ever recognised a visitatorial or appellate authority in the bishop, over such foundations and schools; but on the contrary, that in the cases where any such special authority is conferred, it owes its origin to the will of the founder. Their Lordships are of opinion that the broadest distinction exists between schools which owe their origin solely to private benefactors, and those the establishment of which is largely aided by the State, and which must also to a great extent depend for their efficiency, if not for their existence, on annual assistance from the public resources."

While speaking of this subject, I may add, that when the decision of the Committee upon it was made known to the Roman Catholic Poor School Committee, they appealed against it, and endeavoured to procure the insertion of a

clause in their school deeds, which not only recognized the right of visitation in spiritual instruction, on the part of the priests, but made them finally and conclusively the judges, "whether any particular matter did or did not affect religion or morals;"—whereupon the Committee of Council remarked that such a power, uncontrolled within its own limits, and authoritatively defining those limits without appeal, would be simply absolute; and after a lengthened correspondence, the ruling of the Council was acceded to.

It can scarcely be said that Edward VI. legislated nationally for education, though certainly his efforts assumed a very comprehensive character; he established very many new schools, and he granted charters to many already established; amongst which latter class was the school founded by Henry VI., chartered by Edward VI. and dignified by the pupilage of Shakspeare at Stratford. It is difficult to say whether the gain of the world by means of Shakspeare's education is greater than its loss by means of the many thousands and millions who receive no education; the injustice done in depriving any intellect of culture, is manifest, and may be in some degree estimated by those who reflect upon the fact that Shakspeare himself, had he not been born where there was a tolerable school, might have lived without learning to write. If there are any persons stoical enough to care little whether such a catastrophe was probable or not, they may rest assured that the world at large has long discarded such stoicism, and will ere long take measures to prevent its growth.

I may pass over many centuries, in few words, as regards the general progress of English education.

There were, besides the universities, cathedral or episcopal schools in each diocese, superintended by a *scholastic*; and there were also conventual or abbey schools.

Winchester College was founded in 1387, by William of Wykeham; and the statutes say it was intended for *pauperes et indigentes scholares*, an intention which, it is hardly

necessary to add, has been long defeated. Eton College was founded by Henry VI. in 1440. Westminster and Harrow were founded in the reign of Elizabeth; the Westminster statutes declaring that no boy should be placed on the foundation who had, or would inherit from his father a patrimony of more than ten pounds. Forty scholarships were founded at Westminster, and of these forty, none are now held by "*indigentes scholares.*"* The old cathedral and conventual schools being broken up by the confiscation of the abbey lands and properties by Henry VIII., there was of course a sudden demand for new institutions, and it was to supply this demand that Edward VI. chartered so many new schools; but, as I have already quoted the Privy Council authority to prove, the sole episcopal intervention sanctioned in any of these schools was the licensing of the schoolmaster.

We cannot find that any comprehensive scheme for educating the mass of the English nation was organized, or even thought of, until within the last fifty years; for the Act of William and Mary in Scotland, in 1696, found no counterpart in English legislation; the more advanced or happier state of England, seeming to render such an Act unnecessary. In 1781, however, a great work was begun. It was taken in hand by the editor of the *Gloucester Journal*, Robert Raikes, who is recognized as the originator of the idea of creating Sunday Schools throughout the kingdom. Several pious persons in various parts of England had previously instituted hours of Scriptural instruction for the poor children of the parish; but such instruction was usually given by one person, at his or her own house, and the scheme did not become general.

* Amongst the labors of Lord Brougham in 1816-17-18, he found occasion to show that whereas the boys at Winchester have at fifteen years of age to swear that they have not three pounds six shillings a year to spend, they nevertheless pay ten guineas a year to the master; and whereas it is ordered that if a boy become possessed of five pounds a year he shall be expelled, this sum is extenuated so as to mean sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence per annum of modern money. In one place it was found that property worth one hundred and fifty pounds a year, was let for two pounds one shilling and four pence, chiefly to the trustees themselves.

Mr. Raikes, however, conceived the happy notion of extending the sphere of Sunday School education; and, aided by the Rev. Thomas Stock, Curate of St. John's, Gloucester, he succeeded in introducing Sunday Schools in that city, and by making their beneficial results known, through the instrumentality of his paper, and of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, (1784,) he earned for himself the enduring reputation of being the principal founder of an institution which is justly looked upon as one of the most active agents in the cause of religion and happiness.

The next schemes to be noticed are those of Lancaster and Bell, for each of which priority of promulgation has been claimed by their respective supporters. Dr. Bell having been in India, where he was attracted by peculiarities of teaching, as practised by the Hindoos, returned to England, and recommended the adoption of some of the methods he admired. They were, however, about the same time, 1805, advocated by Lancaster, who had, without any aid, formed a school at the Borough Road, Southwark, and had by dint of his natural enthusiasm and intelligence, worked out what he considered improvements upon the modes of teaching previously known. The controversy ended by the establishment of two extensive Societies of Education, the advocates of Bell forming the National Society, those of Lancaster, forming the British and Foreign Society. The system of teaching adopted by both is called the Bell and Lancaster, the mutual, or monitorial; but the National Society has been linked, principally, with the Church of England; the British and Foreign has been mainly supported by Dissenters. The monitorial system has been impugned, by some writers, on the score of its being much too mechanical in its tendencies, and it doubtless was open to this objection until the subsequent improvements advocated by Pillans, Wood, and others, and a careful admixture of the advantages of *mutual*, *simultaneous*, *mixed*, and *individual* teaching, supplemented by

thorough discipline and genial manners, gradually showed what education ought to be, as regards its technical or practical administrative details.

It was not till about 1818, that the adoption of Infant Schools (of which the Swiss pastor, Oberlin, was the original founder,) was even thought of in England: fortunately they were at last introduced. From Lord Brougham's speech in May, 1835, in the House of Lords, I quote the following facts concerning the state of education in England in 1818. Four hundred and fifty-two thousand children attended Sunday schools (Raikes, we must remember, only initiated them in 1781). There were—

14,300 unendowed schools educating 478,000 children
4,100 endowed schools educating 166,000 children

Forming a total of—

18,500 day schools, educating 644,000 pupils.

The population of England and Wales being at that date less than ten millions, not more than one-fifteenth of the people received instruction.* Nor was the instruction given of a decent kind. Hear Lord Brougham again in the same speech!

"It is not merely the means of instruction which are defective—not merely that the schools are too few, numerous as they are, or that the children are too few compared with the population, numerous as they are also—but the quality of the instruction is much more defective than the amount. Many of the schools are called such by courtesy—and by the extension of courtesy, we suppose that they give instruction to children,—though many of them should no more be called schools (if by that is meant places for the extension of knowledge, and the teachers of them no more deserve the name, if by teaching is understood that which enables a child to learn—that which leaves him better than it found him—that

* We were better off than France however, for in that country in 1817 only one in thirty-five of the people received instruction.

which adds to the knowledge he possessed on entering the school) than any one thing can deserve to be called by a name by which any other thing, however different is known. I do not think this is the universal state of the schools—far from it. Many of them afford a very admirable example. Many of the National Schools, of the British and Foreign Society's establishments, may justly lay claim to the title of schools, and the system pursued there may without flattery be deemed a system of teaching; but I will say that a very large number—nay, I firmly believe, that by much the greater part of the unendowed day-schools, afford the youth of England an education which is exceedingly imperfect indeed. Upon this matter I cannot of course now enter into details; but I feel convinced that I do not at all overstate my position, when I assert that at least one-fourth (I am confident above one-fifth) of those schools are in a state of indiscipline and utter want of accommodation, and with respect to the learning and capacity of those who assume to conduct them, so totally unprovided, that, except by courtesy—nay, except in the language of gross flattery—they cannot be characterized, otherwise than as merely pretended and counterfeit schools."

Lord Brougham went on to show that it was out of the question to suppose that a voluntary system could remedy the evils he complained of; for, as he naturally asked, where is the security for the voluntary imposition of the necessary rates where education is most required? And where education is most required if voluntary subscriptions fail, whether from apathy or poverty, is it not there that the Legislature is bound to step in? In the same speech he alleged several facts to prove the intimate connection between vice and ignorance, and concluded by saying—"With such facts before us, I suppose I may be allowed to assert, that it is not mere speculation to connect ignorance with crimes."

This opinion was vouched for by a Select Committee of the House of Commons, in 1838, who declared that "to the

neglected education of the children of the working classes in populous places is to be chiefly attributed the great increase of criminals, and, consequently, of cost to the country." The following table, illustrative of this truth, is extracted from Parliamentary papers of a later date.

CRIMINAL STATISTICS.

ENGLAND AND WALES.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.
Unable to read and write	29·77	30·61	30·66	31·39	31·93
Able to read and write imperfectly . . .	59·28	58·34	59·51	58·89	56·38
Able to read and write well	8·12	8·38	7·71	7·79	9 53
Of education superior to reading and writing	·42	·37	·34	·28	·27
Of those whose instruction was not ascertained	2·41	2·30	1·78	1·65	1·59
	100·	100·	100·	100·	100·

We thus find that those who are thrust by the circumstances of their position, amongst scenes of immorality and ignorance, and become liable to the *experimentum crucis* as it has been called, of signing with a mark, never fail to become the tormentors of society. They are ignorant, and they are suffered to remain so: they become vicious, and their vices recoil upon the world around, causing expense, labour and shame: that they had not caused sufficient public repentance might have been asserted a short time ago; but it may now be recorded with satisfaction that, hemmed in as the subject of education is in England by the eager zeal of party, the impracticable nature of bigotry, or the timid doubtfulness of those, who, though pious, will not open their eyes and see the world as it is, there have nevertheless, of late years, been made a series of movements from which the best results may be yet expected, although, hitherto, the growth of the institutions they have founded has been but slow.

The difficulty of organizing a thoroughly national system of education is, fortunately, not so great in a new country as in an old one, and therefore a colonist in the southern hemisphere need not be deterred by the obstacles found in his

father-land, when by a glance at New England, he may see how our American relatives began and succeeded in their young world. The remainder of the notice I would wish to be devoted to England, I shall, however, leave for another chapter. But as that chapter proceeds from the pen of another person, I avail myself of this opportunity to remark, that there is good ground for hope that many years will not elapse without a public decision, as well as a public conviction, that the time for the State to act has arrived, and that the duties of the crisis have been accepted. The present Premier of England declared (in 1845), in his place in the House of Lords, that "he hoped their Lordships would allow that it would be unworthy of his personal character if he had consented to become a member of a Government which had the slightest intention, as one of its measures, of abandoning the system of education established in Ireland." The present Secretary of State for the Colonies, overthrew, in 1851, the efforts of that "cabalistic crew" which, under the influence of medieval fury, would retard the progress of the human mind, and annihilate the acquisitions of the past. Lord John Russell stands pledged to pay unremitting attention to a question the condition of which is now calculated to withhold education from "a great proportion of the working classes." The great reasoners of the day are on one side; the phantoms of a past order of unreasonable dialecticians are on the other. The one strengthens its stakes with every modern appliance which Providence bestows; the other only enlarges its bigotry in proportion as its bounds are contracted. The result is certain.

CHAPTER X.

From the time of Elizabeth to the year 1833, no direct pecuniary aid was given by Parliament to the promotion of the elementary education of the English people. But during the brief calm which followed the political excitement of the Reform agitation, some attention was directed to the early success of Lord Stanley's measures in Ireland, and to the steps which were being taken by the government of France towards the establishment of general education. While M. Guizot was carrying through the French Chambers the law of primary instruction, Lord Althorp obtained a vote of £20,000 a year for educational purposes in England. These grants were for some years distributed by the Lords of the Treasury, on a principle which would in this country be called "denominational;" that is to say, although nominally at the disposal of an Executive Board, they were virtually appropriated by the two religious societies which at the time represented the educational energies of the Church and of Dissent. One half of the annual fund was under the control of the Episcopal heads of the National Society, the other half being granted to the British and Foreign School Society. While, therefore, the government came forward to extend the education of the people, they did not at first take any steps to improve or regulate it.

In 1835, the Central Society of Education was formed in London. Mr. Hickson, Mr. Wise, and Mr. Duppa were the

most active members of this body, which was supported by Lord Brougham, Lord Lansdowne, and the leading statesmen of the Liberal party. Their principal object was the diffusion of information on the subject of national instruction; and by the essays and other publications which appeared under their patronage, the attention of the public appears to have been very strongly aroused to the lamentable position of the question in England. These efforts were seconded, although not perhaps in the same sense, by the National Society, and resulted in the appointment in 1839, of the "Committee of Privy Council on Education."

A very able report upon poor-house schools, which about this time was made by Dr. Kay, one of the Assistant Commissioners, led to the introduction of that gentleman to Lord Lansdowne. To this, which may almost be called an accident, England is indebted for the rapid progress of the cause of elementary education. Under the influence of Dr. Kay, who was appointed their secretary, the Committee of Privy Council on Education have done more for public instruction than perhaps any other body or person in the same time. But the difficulties by which they were at first met, proved all but fatal.

Combined education, to which every statesman must naturally give a preference, which the two political parties in Parliament had agreed to maintain at all hazards in Ireland, and which the friends of education out of doors had been, since the Reform Bill, almost unanimously urging upon the Government, was the aim of the new Board. One of their first measures was the introduction into Parliament of a Bill to establish a Normal School for the training of teachers belonging to all religious persuasions. The distinction which had been successfully made in Ireland between "general" and "special" religious instruction was to be preserved, and, while the governing body were to be members

of the Established Church, full liberty of access to the pupils would have been granted to ministers of all denominations. Thus, "combined education, on the basis of religious equality," would have been put forward as the model for other institutions to follow, or not, at their pleasure.

But, for so liberal and practical a measure, the great religious corporations were not then prepared. That, which ten years later was found to be the only possible basis of a Government Normal School, and which has been carried out with general approbation at Kneller Hall, roused the simultaneous opposition of the Bishops of England, the Presbyteries of Scotland, and the clerical government of Wesleyanism. The House of Lords, by an overwhelmimg majority, carried an address to the throne, protesting against the power of the other branch of the Legislative to vote monies for novel educational schemes; and in the House of Commons itself the authority of the Committee of Council, and the annual grants were only maintained by a majority of two. It was clear that the country was not yet ripe for a general system of education.

But the first step had been taken; and until its objects became appreciated it were better to apply the means at the disposal of the Government to other improvements, than to persist in a factious and harrassing opposition to the public prejudice. Between 1839 and 1846, the seeds which had been sown in the proposal of a Normal School were silently growing up. The attention of Her Majesty's Government was, in the meanwhile, chiefly drawn to the establishment of a minute and efficient inspection of the schools under their supervision. Schoolmasters were placed in personal communication with able and earnest men, appointed, with the consent indeed of the religious bodies, but under the authority and guidance of the Privy Council. The deficiencies in the management of elementary education were, by this

means, brought before the public; and the reports, which from all sides came in, of the want of local interest or exertion, except on the part of the clergy, of the insufficiency of existing schools to meet the necessities of the country, of the mischief caused by sectarian exclusiveness, and the comparative ignorance of the instructors, began to revive the question of general education in the minds of earnest men.

The second attempt in this direction was made in 1843, but the Government of Sir Robert Peel were not more successful than their predecessors in educational measures. The clauses of the Factory Bill, which would have established in the manufacturing districts a system of combined education on the basis of religious toleration, although but coldly received by the Established Church, met with vehement opposition from all the shades of Protestant Dissent. In Parliament they would have been readily accepted; but it was not the policy of the Government to provoke external pressure on a question so little cared for in the political world, and the clauses were withdrawn.

Towards the end of the year 1845, the exertions of the Privy Council Committee began to produce their fruit. The attempts to establish a system of public instruction, not directly under the control of the religious bodies, had from the first led the latter to put forth their full strength. To shew the extent of their ability to meet the demands of the country, new Normal, model, and parochial schools had been commenced, and in many places opened throughout the country. Every effort had been made to enlist the sympathies, and to open the purses of the laity, and in some instances with considerable success. But so much devotion to the cause of education was, alas! too often, a nine day's wonder. As the excitement diminished, the insufficiency of the movement became apparent. Heavy debts weighed down many schools, which were often carried on at an

increasing loss to their promoters. In the less populated counties the bucolic mind may have been admitted to as much learning as it was able to receive; but, in the rapidly spreading towns of the north, ignorance was daily gaining upon the exertions of its opponents. Even such Churchmen as Dr. Hook began to doubt whether the building of expensive school-houses was a part of the Church's mission, and to look to the State for the support which she alone appeared able to afford; while many who, upon principle, had refused to acknowledge the right of the Government to interfere in the education of the poor, were ready to abandon the abstract question in the face of an urgent expediency.

It is not unlikely that, if the new Government had in 1846 come before Parliament with the proposals which they were known to have at heart, if they had made, as conditions for greatly increased assistance to the educational efforts of the religious denominations, the abandonment of exclusive teaching, and a more liberal system of management, the House of Commons would have appropriated ample funds funds for this purpose. In the words of Sir J. Kay Shuttleworth: "The principle of local assessment for the support of the school; of Boards of Management representing the ratepayers, and elected according to the popular forms of municipal government, together with the subordinate apparatus of an audit of accounts by public officers, and the complete publicity which attends all our civic arrangements; the fact that such a system being established by statute would be in itself a purely civic arrangement; the means by which the interests of the minority might be protected from the encroachments of a too turbulent majority when intolerant; the fact that such an institution might tend to soften the prejudices which may be fostered when the population is reared in separate schools, obviously liable to degenerate into hostile camps in which the scholars may be trained for

future conflicts; the concentration, on one institution, of resources which must otherwise be divided among several; —are circumstances which would have strongly recommended the adoption of a system of a combined education to the Legislature." (*The School in its Relation to the State, the Church, and the Congregation*, pages 73, 74.—1847.) But the statesmen who held these enlightened views were well acquainted with the character of the English people. They knew how obstinate a resistance would be raised against an endeavour to starve the religious bodies into submission to any principle, however excellent in itself. They felt that, if the existing educational machinery were defective, many years would not elapse before the people discovered their error, and that the task of repairing it would be then accomplished with good will. They therefore determined, within reasonable limits, to give fair play to the institutions, to which, as yet, the conscientious convictions of the majority adhered.

Two positions they have taken up, and have successfully maintained. The principle of combined education is displayed and carried out in the model and elementary schools connected with the Poor Law Unions, and in the general Normal Institution at Kneller Hall; and in spite of the resistance of a section of the National Society, and of the Poor School Committee, the active influence of the laity in the management of education is everywhere insisted upon. The wisdom of this step is now admitted; and it is a subject for congratulation that, upon the motion of Sir John Pakington, in June 1851, the National Society abandoned the ground which the more violent of its members had until then assumed on this question.

Six years have not elapsed since the publication of the minute embodying the Normal School regulations, and the management clauses; and the education of the poor is again demanding the attention of the Legislature. In spite of

large public grants, and the active exertions of the friends of education, the machinery which the State is employing to repress the vice and ignorance of the people is again felt to be unequal to the task. The astonishing voluntary exertions called out by the liberality of the Government, are unable to keep pace with the increasing demands of the nation. In those districts where population advances with the greatest strides, earnest men of all parties are bewailing with almost despair, the evil which appears to be irresistibly growing upon them. In consequence, two movements, having the same great ends, and proposing to a certain extent the same means, have arisen in Lancashire. Both of them consider, as inevitable, a national system of education under State control. Both of them would raise the funds for carrying out that system by means of local rating, and would vest its management in a local representative body. Both of them propose to effect some compromise in the religious element of teaching, and to limit the claims and powers of the clergy. The points of difference are such as will be, it is to be feared, for many years debated among the friends of education; the points of union have to the present time never been generally acceded to in England. Is it too much to anticipate that the latter will soon be made the political basis of a regime of public instruction?

It may not be necessary to speculate further upon the prospects of the education of the poor in England. The example of other nations, the great experiment in Ireland, and the tendencies of the last twenty years at home unmistakeably point in the same direction. The final settlement of the question may be retarded by the zeal, or accelerated by the antagonism of the religious bodies; but the ultimate issue can hardly be doubted. For the sake of national happiness, and of national honor, of religious earnestness and religious liberality, of every quality which can render a people great and good, I look forward to the time when a

sound, secular, moral, and Christian education shall be the right and the privilege of every Englishman.

"Doctrina nam vim promovet insitam,
Rectique cultus pectora roborant;
Utcumque defecere mores
Indecorant bene nata culpæ."

NOTE.—The only addition which I shall venture to make to this interesting chapter, is the following extract from a report by the Rev. H. Moseley, (1850,) Inspector of Schools:—

"The two last schools which I visited afford an illustration of the low scale on which teachers are remunerated, even in schools claiming to be considered superior to the rest, and fortunate in the patronage of the clergy and resident gentry. * * * One was a school of considerable reputation in the neighbourhood, being attended by the children of farmers as well as laborers. A judicious selection of books bore testimony to some knowledge of the subject of education on the part of its promoters; and it may be considered, I think at least an average specimen of the class of schools in agricultural districts, next below that in which we are accustomed to appoint pupil teachers. (Pupil teachers receive annual stipends from the Council, and the teacher receives a fee also for tuition of the pupil teachers.) The salary of the master and his wife, who taught sowing, was (forty pounds and ten pounds) fifty pounds; there were eighty-two children, four of whom were above thirteen years old, four others above twelve, and nine above eleven, being more than a usual proportion of big children. They had some knowledge of Scripture, and could repeat the Catechism; but of the first class, composed of eleven children, four only could write the Belief on their slates correctly, as to the spelling; only two had any knowledge, however slight, of geography, and seven did not know the name of the country in which they live. When told and asked who governs our country, they were unable to tell, and appeared to attach no definite idea to the enquiry. Six children only out of eighty-two could read with tolerable ease and correctness in books of general information, and seven others only could read in the Scriptures. One boy was learning compound rules in arithmetic, four were in division, and twenty-six in addition, but not one in the first class could write in figures the number ten thousand and ten, and not one could multiply correctly three pounds six shillings and eight pence by six. The children of the second and every lower class, were ignorant of the simplest facts in Scripture History, none of them could read correctly a single sentence, or write in figures the number four hundred and twenty-eight, or tell the product of four by nine.

"I will not attempt to describe the sort of moral or intellectual life a child may be supposed to lead in such a school,—the uninteresting and mechanical way in which everything is taught, the severe means by which discipline is enforced, or the obvious and equal distate manifested for the school by the children, the master, and the managers. Nor will I attempt to depict to your Lordships the injury which may be done to children, who, to succeed as men, must be honest, independent, intelligent, self-reliant, and enterprising, when, for six hours of every day for four or five years of their lives, they are subjected to influences such as I have described; or when the indolence enforced in the school is made to give place on the farm to two or three years of birdkeeping, or pig-watching, or tending geese or cattle.

"The school I have described is taught by a master, but the number of schools taught by masters is in agricultural districts comparatively small. The majority form a class of schools below these, taught by mistresses, of whom a few only have been educated, the majority being what are called dames."—MINUTES COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL.

CHAPTER XI.

HAVING now reached IRELAND, I shall in very few sentences pass to the time in which the present National System of Education was founded there. In olden times the colleges or conventual schools of Ireland were celebrated (as I have previously noticed), but their glory departed from them, and Ireland became notorious for its barbarism. It is no imputation against the people to say this, for they had not opportunity afforded them of becoming otherwise than ignorant. They were out of the channel of communication of thought which slowly crept on between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries; they were torn by intestine feuds and by foreign invasions, and their old system of laws was abolished as early as in the reign of Edward III.; but they yet endeavoured, with the Celtic pertinacity of apathy, to cling to worn out customs, and rally round a mouldering standard. There was no attempt at re-construction; it was merely an effort to stand still which characterized the fitful struggles of Irish resistance, and the wild aspirations of Irish patriotism. Lord Bacon says,—"I suppose the main roots of the Irish troubles are three. First, the condition and absoluteness of the chief of the families and septs. Second—the licentious idleness of their kernes and soldiers, that lie upon the country, by cesses and such like oppressions. And the third,—the

barbarous laws, customs, their Brehon laws, habits of apparel, their poets or heralds that enchant them in savage manners, and sundry other such dregs of barbarism and rebellion."

Those who are familiar with the works of Swift and later writers, on the state of Ireland, need not be reminded that the unhappy aspect of the country remained a blot upon the annals of England for many years after the time of Bacon. The general condition was indeed miserable; there were, doubtless, particular places in which individual efforts of benevolence alleviated the pressure of circumstances, but ignorance brooded over the country at large.

Amongst the institutions which vainly strove to acquire a national character in giving instruction, I may notice the Charter Schools, whose avowed object was to educate the poor on the principles of the Established Church. The institution was incorporated in 1733, and received annual State Grants of sufficient magnitude to raise the sum total to more than a million and a-half pounds sterling. The cost of this system may be indicated by the fact, that in 1824, the number of Charter Schools was thirty-two; scholars, two thousand two hundred and fifty-five; and the grant for 1825, was twenty-one thousand six hundred and fifteen pounds. A Report of Commissioners in 1824, exhibited the necessity of abolishing the grant to these schools, and it has accordingly been discontinued. Between 1709 and 1782, it was a transportable offence, (and if the culprit returned, high treason,) for a Roman Catholic to act as schoolmaster, or even as tutor in a family.

In 1800, the Association for Discountenancing Vice was incorporated; in the schools supported by this body, the teachers were required to be of the Established Church, and it was insisted that the Scriptures should be read, and that no catechism but that of the Church of England should be taught. The schools of this Association may thus be classified as they existed in 1824:—

No. of Schools.	No. of Scholars.	Religion of Scholars. Protestant.	Roman Catholic.
226	12,607	7,803 about.	4,804 about.

The Rev. William Lee, who inspected one hundred and four of these schools, in 1819 and 1820, stated that he found the catechism of the Church of Rome in many of them.

In 1825, the State Grant to the institution was seven thousand one hundred and six pounds.

In 1806, a Commission was appointed to inquire into the state of all schools and charities of public foundation in Ireland, and to make suggestions for the general education of the lower classes; the Lord Primate of the Established Church being one of the Commissioners. In their Eleventh Report, in 1810, they stated their conviction that the Parochial Schools were inadequate to provide general education, even supposing that a school could be formed in each parish. Finally, in their Fourteenth Report, in 1812, the Commissioners (whom I find thus enumerated at the close of that report, William Armagh; Charles Cashel; James Killala; Isaac Corry; Thomas Ebrington, Provost; Richard Lovell Edgeworth; James Whitelaw; J. Leslie Foster,) stated that they had applied their "efforts to the framing of a system, which, whilst it shall afford the opportunities of education to every description of the lower classes of the people, may at the same time by keeping clear of all interference with the particular religious tenets of any, induce the whole to receive its benefits, as one individual body under one and the same system, and in the same establishments." After noticing that a well organized system would probably be as cordially accepted by, as it might frankly be offered to the people, the Commissioners proceed: "That such will be its acceptance, we shall indulge the more confident expectation, if all interference with the particular religious tenets of those who are to receive that instruction, shall in the first instance, be unequivocally disclaimed, and effectually guarded against. We conceive this to be of essential importance in any new esta-

blishments for the education of the lower classes in Ireland, and we venture to express our unanimous opinion that no such plan, however wisely and unexceptionably contrived in other respects, can be carried into effectual execution in this country, *unless it be explicitly avowed and clearly understood as its leading principle, that no attempt shall be made to influence or disturb the peculiar religious tenets of any sect or description of Christians.*" They advocated also the inculcation of religious truth in the ordinary school books, and in works especially compiled for the purpose, and added, "The study of such a volume of extracts from the Sacred Writings would, in our opinion, form the best preparation for that more particular religious instruction which it would be the duty, and we doubt not, the inclination also, of the several ministers of religion to give, at proper times, and in other places, to the children of their respective congregations."

On receipt of this report, "the Government of that day," (writes the Earl of Derby, then Mr. Stanley,) "imagined that they had found a superintending body, acting upon a system such as was recommended, and entrusted the distribution of the National Grant to the care of the Kildare Street Society, (formed in 1811, as the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland.) In the Sessions of 1814-15, a grant of six thousand and eighty pounds, Irish currency, was accordingly given to the Kildare Street Society.

"But," continues Mr. Stanley, in 1831, "His Majesty's present Government are of opinion, that no private society, deriving a part, however small, of their annual income from private sources, and only made the channel of the munificence of the Legislature, without being subject to direct responsibility, could adequately and satisfactorily accomplish the end proposed; and while they do full justice to the liberal views with which that society was originally instituted, as well as

to the fairness with which they have in most instances endeavored to carry their views into effect, they cannot but be sensible that one of the leading principles of that society," (the enforcement of the reading of the Holy Scriptures without note or comment, on the Lancasterian, or the British and Foreign theory,) "was calculated to defeat its avowed objects, as experience has subsequently proved that it has." *

"On the opposition which arose," he continues, "it soon became manifest that the system could not become one of National Education."

The Kildare Street Society continued to receive grants from the State for many years, the amount of the grant in 1825 being twenty-nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine pounds.

The failure of the application of these funds so far as regarded a national experiment, will be clear on examination of the following facts:—

The population of Ireland was in 1821 6,801,827 souls
1831 7,767,401

In 1824, we may state in round numbers, that the entire population was seven millions. Of this number about

80	per cent. were	Roman Catholics
10	"	Episcopalians
8	"	Presbyterians
2	"	Dissenters and others.

* Mr. Veevers, Superintendent of the Kildare Street Model Schools in Dublin, gave the following answers to the Commissioners appointed in 1824:—

"1. Are the Scriptures in any way explained to the children in the Schoolroom? Never.

"2. Is it your opinion that the more advanced boys in the schools understand tolerably the meaning of the New Testament in reading it? I am of opinion they do not.

"3. The question does not refer of course, merely to the doctrinal parts of the New Testament, but do you conceive that they understand the ordinary parts of the New Testament? I think they do not.

"4. Do they manifest any curiosity upon the subject—any wish to be better informed about it? I do not recollect an instance."

So much for the involuntary recitative influences which lead parrots to perfection; but of the results of which, in men, we are told that such worship is vain.

In 1824, fifty-six thousand two hundred and one children were educated under the Kildare Street Society, which was formed and paid for promotion of the education of the poor; and one would naturally expect that the relative numbers of the attending scholars would be found consistent with the numbers exhibited in the above table; or if not consistent, nearly so. But thirty thousand were Roman Catholics, while in all the schools of the country there were three hundred and nineteen thousand two hundred and eighty-eight Roman Catholics, and eighty-one thousand six hundred Protestants.

Under these circumstances a new Board of Commissioners, appointed to inquire into the State of Education in Ireland, reported primarily in 1824, that none of the institutions in Ireland were suited to its wants; and they finally recommended the establishment of such a system as was recommended by the previous Board in 1812; not interfering with religious tenets, but, in united instruction, furnishing a volume of religious extracts from the four Evangelists.

In 1828, a Select Committee of the House of Commons, having taken into consideration the reports of the two Commissions already alluded to, recommended the adoption of some such system as had been shadowed forth by the respective Boards, and such as might be rendered "in truth a national system for the lower classes of the community."

Nothing, however, was done, and in 1830, another Committee of the House of Commons which had been appointed to inquire into the State of the Poor in Ireland, (weighing well the fact that the people were evidently not satisfied to receive the quality of instruction within their reach, and perceiving that in the abjectness of their ignorance and despair, the populace visited upon society the evils of which it would have been wiser in society to pay for the avoidance than the suffering,) reported thus :—

"The House will find that your Committee have received much evidence of importance on the subject of the education

of the poor ; they cannot but hope that no further time will be lost in giving the public the benefit of the expensive and long-protracted inquiries before the Royal Commissioners of 1806 and 1825, and the practical recommendation of the Select Committee of 1828, the report of which Committee is ordered to be reprinted."

Upon this hint, (and backed by many leading men,) in October 1831, the Earl of Derby, then Mr. Stanley, propounded the scheme now known as the Irish National System; he informed the Duke of Leinster of the intentions of the Government, and requested that nobleman to accept the office of President of the new Board of Education. He remarked, that the Government had, in conferring the national grants of money upon the Kildare Street Society, imagined that by such means an united system of education might be established, but, he added, that this imagination had been proved a delusion, and that consequently the Government had determined to frame a new scheme of public instruction. No aspersions, he observed, were meant to be cast upon the Kildare Street Society ; but the Government was of opinion that no private society, deriving a part, however small, of their annual income, from private sources, and only made the channel of the munificence of the Legislature, without being subject to any direct responsibility, could adequately and satisfactorily accomplish the end proposed.

He also pointed out the failure of the attempted compromise by which it was sought to give confidence in existing schools, by the appointment of two teachers, (one of each denomination) in every school (1825,) and he wound up by laying down certain broad principles upon which the concurrence of the Duke of Leinster and his nominated colleagues was desired by the Government.

The establishment of a Model School, for training teachers, was one of the points declared by Mr. Stanley to be necessary.

The Board was accordingly formed, and fortunately comprised several leading men of each denomination of Christians: the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Whateley, well known as one of the most exemplary divines, as well as perhaps the most acute reasoner and forcible writer in the Church of England; the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Murray; also well known and respected for his learning and amiability; Dr. Carlile, a Presbyterian minister; Mr. A. R. Blake; Mr. Robert Holmes, the Barrister; and Dr. Franc Sadlier.

In 1842, ten years after the Board was formed, there still remained on the Board, many of the same names as were originally enrolled upon it, and I find them thus subscribed to their Ninth Report:—

Richard Dublin,	Richard W. Greene,
†D. Murray,	Pooley Shouldham Henry, D.D.
Franc Sadleir,	Alexander M'Donnell,
A. R. Blake,	John Richard Corballis,
Robert Holmes,	Kildare.

The present Earl of Carlisle was for some time a member. At the commencement of their labors the Board were zealously contended with on many grounds, but the Legislature annually confirmed their acts, and voted supplies to be entrusted to their care.

It was said that, by not making the reading of the Scriptures compulsory, they cast a practical indignity upon the Sacred Volume; but they naturally replied that as no other school system had been accused of casting indignity on the formularies of the Established Church, when leaving the use of those formularies to the choice, not forcing them against the inclination of the parents, so, no charge could fairly be set up in the one case more than in the other; and it so happened that those who were most violent in making the above allegation, were those upon whom the conversion of the argument became an *argumentum ad hominem.*

It was said that in the Scripture Lessons the tendency to Protestantism was unduly manifested, (Dr. M'Hale found this mare's nest,) but the violent Orange party on the other hand protested that the leaning was on the side of Popery: (Rev. H. Newland.)

The Bishop of Exeter said that it was impious to provide schools which were not compelled to provide more religious instruction than was given in the National Schools: and he was replied to by a noble lord, (Lord Suffield,) who asked why the state of Schools in England should not also be considered? "I have myself," he said, "sons at the public schools in England, as have also some of the noble lords opposite, and I have no objection to join with those lords in a remonstrance against the neglect of religious instruction in English schools. But I must ask why they blame the Government for neglect at the very time when they are giving fuller education to the youth in Ireland than the sons of the noble lords themselves are receiving in England? To arraign ministers for the most excellent regulations which have been made by the Board of Education is absurd. It is a mean and miserable shift of a factious and rancorous opposition."

On being called to account for his condemnation of the English Schools, Lord Suffield subsequently asked a reverend prelate, "which were most in the recollection of a scholar on leaving school, the heroes of Homer, or the Lives of the Apostles?"

As regarded the abstraction (alleged only) of clerical supervision, it was shown that the duty of catechizing, as well as preaching, was fully recognized in the Church of England; which Church held *endowments* on the equitable condition of labouring in its vocation: and it was justly argued, that even if those endowments were too confined, they ought properly to be eked out openly, and fairly, and not by any side-wind appropriation of endowments voted for a distinct purpose.

With respect to the abstraction of the Bible (only alleged again), it was announced by Archbishop Whately, one of the Board, that the use of the Bible was not forbidden, but was patent for all who wished to use it; though the Board was not authorized to force it on any;—further, His Grace remarked, "If the people *choose* to submit, as a matter of conscience, to the prohibitions of the priest, we must not, however we may deplore their error, do violence to their conscience;—they have no *means* of disobeying a prohibition to read the Bible, if they are left unable to read. It would be unfair to require them to shake off this control in the first instance, as a preliminary condition to their acquiring the knowledge which may enable them to decide whether the control is just, or unjust; and, finally, to recognize the *civil right* of all men to submit their conscience, however erroneously, to whatever rule of faith they think fit, does not imply any acknowledgment that their conduct is *right* in the sight of God."

"The principle of toleration," he added, "without implying such an absurdity* as that all different, and even opposite, religious persuasions can be right in the sight of God, recognizes the right (viz. the *civil* right) of every man to profess whatever religion he thinks best."

That the Scripture Lessons used in the Schools were either a mutilation of or a substitution for the Bible, was denied utterly; the Lessons being no more a mutilation of Scripture than the Rule of Three is a mutilation of Algebra, or than the act of walking is a mutilation of the act of flying, or than the second Proposition in Euclid is a mutilation of the fifth;—nor had extracts ever been considered a mutilation of a work, so long as they professed to be merely extracts; otherwise the teaching of the Church of England

* It may seem, from this passage, that the Archbishop of Dublin would be shocked at the Denominational System of Education of this country, which not only passively recognises several persuasions as true, but actively supports them all. I cannot help it, if it should seem so.

would be a mutilation of the Bible, since that Church does not nearly, even with the Lessons of each day, embrace, in its Prayer-Book and Lessons, the whole of the Bible. It was therefore pointed out, that to teach a child to read, and then to offer him a Bible, could not properly be called *depriving him* of the Bible; though he would virtually be deprived of it, if he were left unable to read, or if instruction were refused to him except on conditions with which his parents, however mistakenly, would prevent his compliance.

Finally, Whately, whom I call by his patronymic, not out of disrespect, but because he is one of those great men who earn an unmistakeable reputation which raises them above conventionalisms, reminded the opponents of the National System in (1832), that "The failure of the system, if it should fail, would be a very different event, according as it might be clearly attributable to Roman Catholic priests or to Protestants. Those of the former who may really be averse to education, will be far too wise, I imagine, to exert themselves against it, if they find that Protestants are doing their work for them. In the other case, they must either abandon their attempt, or avow it. In the case of some applications, the parish ministers of the Established Church have, it appears, been applied to, and have refused to join. If they persist in keeping aloof from the schools, it is not unlikely that some of these may be worse conducted than if they had taken a part. Should any of them reply that his conscience will not permit him to do this, there is no more to be said: but then he ought not to complain that the Board has deprived him of all share in the superintendence of education, of which he is resolved to deprive himself by his own act; nor ought he to point to any case of ill success, as a fulfilment of a prophecy which has caused its own fulfilment."—In a free country, such as England or America, the Board could pretend to no power to hand over to a clergy-

man those who belong not to his faith;—and over those who do belong to his faith, a clergyman has as full control in religious doctrine and discipline, in a National School as in any other. But I fear I should weary the reader by multiplying in this place the arguments which have been adduced for and against the National System of Education in Ireland. In a future chapter, I shall endeavour to refute most of the salient points which have been urged in this country against the system; and I shall, therefore, now pass on to show, by a table of the National Schools extant in Ireland from the formation of the system in 1832 up to the year 1849, how triumphantly the cause of truth has in this instance overborne all obloquy and misrepresentation; viz. so far as progress can do so.

Slander may rail at, but it must eventually fail in opposing virtue, reason, and fact; and I submit that there is not in existence a sounder monument of the value of charity and truth, in political experience, than is to be found in the simple table which I am about to quote.

In order to enable my reader to make a fair comparison between "this picture and that," I must premise that the Kildare Street Society Schools in 1832 were only 235 in number;—in the Province of Armagh, 195; Dublin, 17; Cashel, 15; Tuam, 8; thus showing an amount of about four-fifths of the schools in the comparatively Protestant population of Ulster. Yet the Society received State support as early as 1815, and therefore had enjoyed ample opportunities of winning the confidence of the people.*

* It is worthy of remark, that the Kildare-street Society originally professed the principle of combined education. One of the Reports says that the Association had endeavoured to form "a system which, whilst it should afford the opportunities of education to every description of the lower classes of the people, might, at the same time, by keeping clear of all interference with the particular religious tenets of any, induce the whole to receive its benefits, as one undivided body, under one and the same system, and in the same establishment." Mr. Wyse says, that no sooner had the Society received public money than they commenced, insidiously, to proselytize, and brought forward views which their programme had withheld.

NATIONAL SCHOOLS.

SUMMARY OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE REPORTS.

No.	Date of Report.	Number of Schools in operation.	Number of Children on the Rolls.
1	31st December, 1833	789	107,042
2	31st March, 1835	1,106	145,521
3	" " 1836	1,181	153.707
4	" " 1837	1,300	166,929
5	" " 1838	1,384	169.548
6	31st December, 1839	1,581	192,971
7	" " 1840	1,978	232,560
8	" " 1841	2,337	281.849
9	" " 1842	2,721	319,792
10	" " 1843	2,912	355,320
11	" " 1844	3,153	396,550
12	" " 1845*	3,426	432,844
13	" " 1846	3,637	456,410
14	" " 1847	3,825	402,632
15	" " 1848	4,109	507,469
16	" " 1849	4,321	480,623

(By the evidence which I am about to adduce from the Bp. of Meath's Primary Charge, it will be seen that the attendance in 1850, had increased by more than 30,000 scholars.)

"The number of our schools," says the Sixteenth Report of the Commissioners, on the 31st December, 1849, "was 4,586, including those in operation, those suspended, and those towards the building of which we have promised aid. The actual and expected attendance in these 4,586 schools would amount to 505,056 scholars." The distribution of the schools in the provinces was as follows :—

Province.	Schools in operation, with their attendance on the Rolls, as returned by the Managers, for the half year ending 30th September, 1849.		Schools to which Building Grants have been promised, with the number of Scholars they will accommodate when completed.		Suspended Schools.	Total number of Schools in connexion on the 31st December, 1849.
	No. of Schools.	Attendance.	No. of Buildings.	Attendance.		
Ulster . . .	1,762	149,055	54	5,129	...	1,816
Munster . .	973	135,799	92	8,801	....	1,065
Leinster . . .	1,071	132,743	31	3,003	4	1,106
Connaught. .	515	58,357	76	7,500	8	599
Total . .	4,321	475,954†	253	24,433	12	4,586

* In this year the Board was incorporated.

† There was, in addition to this number, an attendance of 4,669 children in schools

The expenses of the schools will furnish, I fear, but a sorry repast for the hyper-criticism of the Bishop of Newcastle, who I hope will excuse me for mentioning him here, when I tell him that I shall never hear of vulgar fractions without connecting them with his name; so much influence has his pamphlet exercised on one, at least, of his readers.

The total income or charge debited to the National Board in Ireland in the year ending 31st March, 1849, was £145,663 4s. 4d.

The outlay was, of course, about the same amount, being in fact rather more than the income of the year, since the balance on closing the account was less than that brought forward.

But to state the expenses shortly and clearly, I may say, that deducting the consideration of the balance, and of a sum of £200, (which having been paid to the Commissioners erroneously, was by them refunded,) the actual expenditure of the year on Normal establishments, training establishments, model, and evening, and industrial schools, a model farm, books, inspection, architectural repairs, salaries, gratuities, and miscellaneous items was £138,046 16s. 7d., and a mere glance at these figures will show that the cost of educating 480,623 children was, less than six shillings per head.

Cheapness, therefore, as compared with the cost of the old Charter Schools, may be said to have been brought about by the National System; and as regards the character of the instruction, I shall quote the following observations from the Visitor's Book at the Newry Model School, in 1850. I shall make no apology for quoting such telling evidence, and I have great pleasure in adding, that though one of the reverend gentlemen whose testimony I am about to use, was formerly a hot opponent of the National System, he is now to be looked upon as its staunch advocate.

to which salaries had been granted, during the three months, from the 30th September to the 31st December, 1849, making the total attendance on the rolls 480,623.

13th April, 1850.

"In reply to your enquiry I have to state, that according to our arrangements for giving religious instruction, I have attended at the Model School every alternate month since the opening in May last, with the Presbyterian children belonging to the General Assembly. We have read consecutively in the Gospels, and have gone over a great part of the shorter catechism, both in a junior and senior class. Our exercises have generally commenced with singing, and closed with prayer. The proficiency of the children in religious knowledge and in sacred music, (taught by Mr. Brady,) can be ascertained only by personal inspection, for which we are all most anxious, as the easiest and most effectual way of dissipating any remaining prejudices against the system of instruction pursued in the school. *One visit is worth a thousand pamphlets and angry controversies.* It must be gratifying to the Commissioners to know, that their effort here has been so triumphant, and that the competition among the different classes of the people, to get their children admitted to the school, has given all but an unanimous verdict in its favor. * * * * (Signed) JOHN DODD."

Again—

15th April, 1850.

"Feeling a lively interest in the welfare of the institution, and more especially in supporting its character for rational and truly Christian liberality, equally removed from bigotry and indifference, I am accustomed to attend there on Fridays, at the time fixed for religious instruction, and to superintend it myself, in the apartment allotted for that purpose. * *

(Signed) †M. BLAKE."

Again—

"I have, since the opening of the Model School here, attended on Fridays, from half-past ten to twelve, to give religious instruction to the children of my own church attend-

ing the school, and have met with every facility and convenience in doing so. I am happy to add, that I observe a very decided improvement in the attention and intelligence with which they listen to my instructions, and this I ascribe to the excellent methods of instruction pursued in the school. It is likely to be a great blessing to this town, and promises fully to answer our expectations.

(Signed) HENRY ALEXANDER.

15th April."

Again—

"The children belonging to the Established Church have had the amplest opportunities for religious instruction since the Model School has been in operation. They read the Bible every day, from half-past two till three, under the superintendence of monitors belonging to their own church, who are fully competent, not only to guide them in accurate reading, but also to explain the text and found questions on it. On Fridays there is an hour and a-half devoted to more special instruction in the Catechism as well as in Scripture, on which occasion I have attended as often as my other engagements would permit, and my conviction is, that there is not a school in this part of the country in which the children belonging to the Established Church have better arrangements made for their religious education, or receive a more solid and fuller instruction in the religious principles of their creed, than in the Newry District Model National School.

* * *

(Signed) DANIEL BAGOT,
Vicar-General of Newry and Morne.

26th April, 1850."

The Inspector of National Schools, when transmitting his report containing the above extracts, remarks that they form a striking contrast to the following indefensible entry made some time before by a clergyman of the Established Church :—

"Visited this school, and have but one fault to find with the system under which it is established, and that is, that the authority of Almighty God is not acknowledged within it."

In order to show the nature of the works which are used in the National Schools, I shall append in a note a list of them, together with some commendatory remarks of the Privy Council Committee.*

* Works Published by the Commissioners.

First Book of Lessons Second ditto Sequel to ditto Third ditto Fourth ditto Supplement to ditto Fifth ditto Reading Book	"These Reading Books were compiled for the National Schools established under the Board of Education in Ireland, but they are also extensively in use among all classes of Schools in England, Wales, and Scotland." J. P. Kay Shuttleworth, Privy Council Office, 1848.
Biographical Sketches of Eminent British Poets	
Selections from British Poets	
Introduction to the Art of Reading	Furnished by the Privy Council.
English Grammar	Furnished by the Privy Council.
Key to ditto	Furnished by the Council.
First Book of Arithmetic	Furnished by the Privy Council.
Key to ditto	Furnished by the Privy Council.
Arithmetic, in Theory and Practice.	
Book-keeping	Furnished by the Council.
Key to ditto	
Epitome of Geographical Knowledge	Furnished by the Council.
Compendium of ditto	Furnished by the Council.
Elements of Geometry	Furnished by the Council.
Mensuration	Furnished by the Council.
Appendix to ditto	Furnished by the Council.
Scripture Lessons (four volumes)	
Sacred Poetry	
Lessons on Truth of Christianity	
Agricultural Class Book	Furnished by the Council.
Directions for Needlework, with Specimens	
Tablets	
Maps	Furnished by the Council.

Works Sanctioned, though not Published, by the Commissioners.

Geography Generalized	"A Book which should be read in all Elementary Schools, in connection with the study of the Maps."—Privy Council Office.
An Introduction to Geography and History	Furnished by the Privy Council.
The Spelling-Book Superseded	A useful book for lessons on dictation, to teach children correct orthography and punctuation, and thus to take the first step towards English composition.

English

In bidding farewell for a time to the National System, I shall quote two public documents which attest its efficiency, and when I may hereafter find occasion to advocate the system, as peculiarly adapted for this colony, I trust my reader will bear in mind the following testimony:—

"At a meeting held 24th January, 1848, the Right Hon. the Earl of Gosford in the Chair, the following resolutions were passed:—"That we feel deeply grateful to the Commissioners of National Education, for having resolved on building their first District Model School in Newry; and we hail the cordial unanimity with which ministers and members of every religious denomination have this day met to celebrate this event, as in itself one of the best results of the establishment of the National System, and as affording the best proof that it is the only one which has been as yet devised, calculated to prove acceptable to persons of all parties and denominations in Ireland.

"That the objections so frequently advanced against the National System of Education, that it overlooks the importance and necessity of giving religious instruction, and that it interdicts the free use of the Sacred Scriptures in its schools, are totally without foundation, inasmuch as it makes

English Dictionary . . . . . Furnished by the Council.
Easy Lessons on Money Matters { This subject ought to form a part of the course of instruction for pupil teachers.
Professor M'Gauley's Lectures on Natural Philosophy.
Literary Class Book.
Easy Lessons on Christian Evidences.
Easy Lessons on Reasoning.
Patterson's Zoology (in Parts).
Dr. Thomson's Arithmetic.
Ditto Euclid.
Ditto Introduction to Algebra.

Mr. Marshall, the Roman Catholic Inspector of Schools in England, stated, in his Report of 1850, that in comparing the books used by the Christian Brothers with those of the Irish Board, he considered the advantage to be wholly on the side of the latter.

I may add, also, that the books enumerated above have universally found favour wherever they have been used; and, in the Colony of Victoria, the Denominational School Board long ago determined to import no other school books (on secular and general topics) than those provided by the Irish National Board.

full provision for religious education—leaving each denomination perfectly free to act upon its own principles with reference to the use of the Bible—paying due respect to the religious liberty of each, and only taking care that no one denomination shall assume a power to compel the members of any other to adopt their views upon this point, contrary to their own conscientious convictions.

"That we sincerely rejoice at the success which has already attended the National System of Education in Ireland, and feel justified when contemplating that success, in anticipating the happiest results from its more general diffusion throughout the country; and we earnestly hope that Her Majesty's Government will very soon provide an enlarged system of education for the middle classes in all the leading towns in Ireland, based upon principles which will prove acceptable to all classes and denominations in this country."

But, methinks, I hear some one say that the assertions of laymen at a public meeting are not to be looked upon with much respect; and, though it is my own belief that public opinion is an exceedingly respectable thing, yet as I have no wish to ascribe too much importance to it, I shall here append an enlightened statement made by a Church of England divine, whom I shall leave those to confute who like to meddle in hostile guise, with so Christian and pious a prelate.

The statement is part of a charge delivered, at a Primary Visitation of the Bishop of Meath to his clergy, in the year 1851, and it will form a fit conclusion to my chapter on Ireland. I transcribe from the *Times* newspaper, September 1851 :—

"An authentic report of the charge delivered by the Bishop of Meath, at the Primary Visitation of the Clergy of the diocese has just been issued. A meagre outline of this document, copied from a local paper, was printed in the

Times of Saturday, from which it could be collected that Dr. Townsend had "pronounced" very decidedly in favor of the National System of Education; and, as that question—thanks to the Synod of Thurles and its assembled conclave of bigots—has been again disturbed from the long repose which it had enjoyed since the Government of Sir Robert Peel set the seal to the hopes of any division of the Parliamentary Grant, it may be well to place upon record the sentiments of the Bishop of Meath as expressed in the charge alluded to. I shall, therefore, append the most material portions which relate to the subject of education.

"The most reverend prelate sets out by stating that, for his own part, his opinions are fully made up, being the result of long consideration and much experience, and he then proceeds as follows:—

"I never could clearly understand upon what justifiable principle so large a body of the clergy of the Church in Ireland have refused to give all the amount of instruction they could under the National System, even supposing that system did not go the extent, in all respects, which the clergy desired. There are few public institutions which we approve of in all their parts and operations; and, except in this case of education, partial disapproval has never been taken as a valid excuse for total abandonment, and leaving them altogether to others to carry on when it was our duty to take part in them. In the case of education this withdrawal becomes a positive evil, as the system, of necessity, falls into other hands inimical to our church and to Protestant truth. The grounds upon which this is defended are, that no system of education ought to be admitted which does not insist on the reading of the Scriptures by all the children, or, in other words, that no system but that adopted and approved of by Protestants should be admitted in any school, no matter what the religious opinions of those attending the school may be; that it is not sufficient the Protestants themselves be permitted the use of the Scriptures, but that all others must read them in any school they may attend. In this opinion I do not agree; for although I yield to no man in my anxiety to circulate God's Word in every form, and on every occasion that I fairly can do, I entirely dissent from the doctrine that any one denomination of Christians has a right to direct or control the religious opinions of another, either in education or anything else. The reply usually made to this is that the party objecting do not want to exercise a control, but they will not themselves take part in any system which does not admit and recognize their principle, not only as affects themselves, but all others besides. This is a decided control, in my opinion; for without their cordial co-operation, no system of education could be successful, and they use the only means to defeat it in their power. I think, moreover, the clergy of the Established Church are bound to take part in the National System, whether they approve of it or not; and I quite understand their doing so, although, at the same time, they may by no means agree with all its regulations, and use their best efforts to have them changed to meet their own views. I scarcely think clerical responsibility on this point has been, in general, sufficiently considered, because your washing your hands of that responsibility will neither discharge its duties nor clear

you of its burden. If this mode were justifiable, it would be easy for any of us to get rid of a duty which was irksome, simply by refusing to discharge it. Those who absent themselves from National Schools in their parishes on the grounds that the Scriptures are not enforced in them, seem to me to place themselves in rather a false position, because in obedience to a duty, the application of which is very doubtful to the present case (and which I do not think applicable at all), they neglect another duty about which there can be no doubt whatever. It has always been my opinion that a portion of the clergy made a sad mistake, from the first, in opposing National Education, and one which I fear they will one day lament, as all education supplied by the State is now passing out of their hands into the hands of others who will use it as a formidable weapon against them and their opinions. Irreparable mischief is already done, and although much of the ground they have lost never can be regained, I still think it is their duty to maintain their places, wherever a fitting opportunity for the future offers in those schools, as the established clergy of the country. I recommend this course, because I cannot admit that the object or design of the National System is to exclude God's Word, as has been so frequently asserted. Its object is to afford as much education as it can, and on the very best foundation the case will admit of, to those who, unhappily for themselves, refuse to study the Holy Scriptures, unless as interpreted by their church; and while the National System affords every facility to those who choose to read and learn the Word of God, it merely says it will not make the doing so the condition on which secular education may be obtained. Its principle is simply non-compulsion, a principle which must be the one on which any public education supplied by the State should be based to be successful. It is an interesting fact I have heard within the last few days, from the best authority, that the number of children within the National Schools has increased, during the past year, upwards of 30,000. This is a considerable addition, when the diminution of the population of the country, arising from emigration, famine, and other causes, be taken into account; and indisputably shows that the Irish people are awaking to a sense of the value of education, and evince a determination to give their children the benefit of it, in defiance of all obstructions. This feeling could only be marred by an undue interference with religious scruples,—an interference as opposed to justice and fairness as it would be unsuccessful in its results. Strange as it may appear, there is a stronger similarity between some of the principles which influence the opponents of National Education and a certain section of the Roman Catholic Church than one would at first be inclined to suppose. Both seek to control persons of a different communion, and rest their justification of the attempt on religious grounds. The one does so on the plea that God has commanded the Holy Scriptures to be read by all his creatures; and they defend themselves by asserting that they are acting in obedience to this command. The others say they are the true church, and in like manner, justify their attempts at dominion on the plea of regard for men's souls, and the command of God to save those souls; which can only be done by their joining her communion. In this way the means resorted to by both are similar—namely, compelling others to take their view of what they consider most profitable for the everlasting interests of those whom they seek to influence and control, without considering the wishes or feelings of the parties themselves. The principle which governs each is more in accordance with the Church of Rome than with Protestant liberty, which entirely denies the right of one man, in any way, to interfere with the religious scruples of another. It is a curious circumstance in the history of Irish anomalies to find the Church Education Society and the Synod of Thurles strenuously advocating the same point—a separate grant. Methinks this fact alone should be sufficient to raise strong doubts in the former respecting the wisdom or policy of the measure. It will, I trust, be seen from what I have said, that I do not find fault with those who disapprove of National Education, as every man has a perfect right to form his own opinion on the subject; nor do I

find fault with those who oppose it by all legitimate means of petition and remonstrance. What I complain of is, the manner in which this resistance is at present conducted, by an entire withdrawal from participation in it, because I do not think this mode of opposition can be carried into effect, in most cases, without unfaithfulness to the church of which we are members, in neglecting what seems to me a positive duty, and exercising a discretionary abandonment of parochial functions, which I do not think any clergyman has authority for doing, without relinquishing a distinct obligation laid on him as the parish minister, and without violating those principles of civil and religious liberty which are the essential characteristics of a Protestant country."

CHAPTER XII.

I SHALL now take a cursory view of what has been done in the Australian Colonies with respect to National Education. I need not debate upon what has been done in them, since the repetition of a thrice-told tale is apt to be tedious. The schools first commenced, were Denominational: they were not found to be satisfactory, and many expedients were resorted to, in order to bring about some efficiency in the system; but we shall see that they all failed. Amongst the schemes entertained, was the making payment of one halfpenny per day for each child, and for the purpose of procuring this halfpenny the same child was sometimes made use of in filling up the attendance-list of two schools of different denominations. (*Vide* Evidence of W. A. Duncan, Esq., 1844, before Legislative Council Committee.)

In 1836, Sir Richard Bourke endeavoured to introduce the Irish National System in New South Wales; he was opposed, and the adoption of the system, as a national effort, was averted; he found some supporters, but few; and the fact that several of them were Roman Catholics, led not a few unenquiring Protestants to imagine that the National System was a Jesuitical method of undermining the Protestant faith. (*Vide* Letter of the Rev. Mr. Saunders, chap. xvi.) In 1839, Sir George Gipps proposed in the Legislative Council, the following resolutions:—

"1. That in the opinion of this Council all classes of the community are entitled to equal assistance from the public revenue in the establishment of schools, or places of public education.

"2. That owing to the extreme dispersion of the population of this colony, a system of education, to be effectual, should be as comprehensive as possible.

"3. That in the opinion of this Council, a system of education may be established, that shall at least comprehend all classes of Protestants.

"4. That if the public schools of the colony be established upon principles essentially Protestant, some corresponding advantages ought to be secured for the schools of Roman Catholics."

Sir George Gipps did not succeed in pressing, or did not care to press the above resolutions on his Council; and indeed the fact that in order to secure an admission that the State ought to support Protestantism, it was necessary with the same breath to assert that the same State ought to support doctrines opposed to Protestantism, is enough to show the dilemma in which the Governor found himself placed. A national system was clearly not comprehended, and Sir George made the experiment of a half measure, not because he was personally disinclined to act energetically, but because he preferred to act with policy, and a chance of success, rather than make a Quixotic joust in which he thought himself sure to fail.

With respect to his fourth resolution, he clearly explained that his individual opinion was favorable to a thoroughly national system, as the following words will show:—

"My highly gifted predecessor, whose talents I admire, and in whose footpaths I am anxious to tread, proposed a more comprehensive system of education, *and I lament that it was not considered practicable to carry it into effect; but I have never neglected to aver, that the abandonment of it does*

not rest with me." And His Excellency showed in the following graphic words, the necessity of adopting the general system of which he had sighed for the introduction :—

"In other countries, although the people are divided into different creeds, they are in masses. In England you will find whole parishes belonging to the Established Church, without a Dissenter, and it is only in the large towns that you will find Dissenters of any number. In Scotland, the great bulk of the people are Presbyterians. In Ireland, the greater portion of the inhabitants of the northern parts are Protestants, and in the south Roman Catholics. But what have we in this Colony? Englishmen, Irishmen,Scotchmen, and Welshmen, forming Episcopalians, Presbyterians of two sorts, Baptists, Wesleyans, Anabaptists, *cum multis aliis*, all mixed higgledy-piggledy together; and how can we satisfy these with a system that is not comprehensive? It is this which makes me say that the question is one of a comprehensive system or none at all; and disguise it as you may, gentlemen, evade it as you may, put your finger on this loose point in my arguments, or that loose point, you will still be brought back to the question of—will you have a comprehensive system or will you have none? Nor will it be answered by saying that the existing schools have given satisfaction. I am not sufficiently acquainted with them myself to give any opinion upon their merits; but even allowing them the fullest merits, that they did go to satisfy the wants of the people, still it was only when there were no rivals; but how will they do now, when they are likely to have half a dozen rivals? Will they still continue to give the same satisfaction? I think we may safely conclude that they cannot."

We may all regret that Sir George Gipps was foiled in his attempt to improve education in the colonies, but the present Bishop of Sydney, who opposed Sir George, cannot complain that he now finds arrayed against him some of

those with whom he was leagued in 1836, and whose eyes he opened in 1839. In 1836, His Lordship delivered a speech to a General Committee of Protestants, in which he wound up by telling the Committee, that "if in addition to the agreement in doctrine to which you have already come, the free use of the Scriptures shall be established, and no doctrine be taught in your schools contrary to the Church of England, I shall most cordially and sincerely wish God-speed to all who are engaged in so good a work; and will most cheerfully contribute my influence and recommendation towards obtaining for you a share of the public support."

Now the Rev. Ralph Mansfield, in allusion to His Lordship's co-operation with the Protestant Committee, stated in 1844, to the Select Committee of the Legislative Council, that His Lordship did not attend the Protestant Committee Meetings after the 3rd August, 1836, "but he never resigned; he only ceased to attend the meetings, a course which at the time greatly surprised me. I afterwards learned, by His Lordship's speech in Council, in 1839, that in the proceedings of 1836, he had divided the subject into two parts, the *negative* and the *positive*, and as long as we confined our attention to the former, he co-operated with us; but when we came to the *positive*, he receded from us."

I apprehend that long before the close of the year 1851, His Lordship was persuaded that the bulk of the Protestant community had learned to put their own shoulders to the wheel in earnest, and had selected fellow-workmen, who were not only negatively, but positively inclined to advance the interests of education.*

* I have been myself solemnly assured, that when the Bishop had instigated the framing of petitions against the National System, signatures were solicited, in the house and on the road, without affording the subscribers an opportunity of examining the petition or its subject, and that messengers were sometimes sent out with only a list of names to be added to, and with no more information for a deluded petitioner than the statement, that the petition was to prevent the Bibles from being taken from the poor.

When Sir George Gipps was thwarted in his propositions of 1839, the subject of education fell into temporary abeyance; a mere partial experiment, which was made, being not worth mention as a national undertaking.

But a great effort was made in 1844. A Select Committee of the Legislative Council was in that year appointed to enquire into the whole subject of education, Mr Lowe being the Chairman. The following is a concise statement of the facts submitted in the report of the Committee :—

"The Committee consider the present state of education in the colony extremely deficient. There are about 25,676 children between the ages of four and fourteen years; of these only 7,642 receive instruction in public schools, and 4,685 in private ones, leaving about 1,300 children who as far as your Committee know, are receiving no education at all. The expense of public education is about one pound per head; an enormous rate, after every allowance has been made for the necessary dispersion of the inhabitants of a pastoral country, and the consequent dearness of instruction. While your Committee admit that this deficient state of education is partly attributable to the ignorance, dissolute habits, and avarice of too many of the parents, and partly to the want of good schoolmasters and school-books, they feel bound to express their conviction that a far greater portion of the evil has arisen from the *strictly denominational character of the public schools.* Many of these schools have indeed attained a considerable degree of excellence under the management and inspection of the clergy, and it would be most unjust to charge upon them those defects in the state of public education, which your Committee believe are the natural results of the plan by which that education has been regulated."

The Committee enumerated several recommendations of a comprehensive scheme of education, and proposed that the Irish, or Lord Stanley's National System, should be forth-

with established, and that adherence to that system should be made the indispensable condition under which public aid would be granted.

Sir George Gipps declined to sanction the appropriation of any money in accordance with the Council's recommendation, and though he alleged a financial reason for his policy, there were not wanting ill-natured people who asserted that His Excellency had made a compact, *sub silentio*, by which the mutual efforts of the Bishop against the squatters, and of the Governor against education, were accepted on each side as the satisfactory *quid pro quo*.

His Excellency, however, reiterated his approval of the national principles, even while denying a grant of public money; and hinted that the time had not then arrived for introducing a better system than the one in operation, though he still adhered to his opinion of the superiority of a national system.

In 1846 and 1847, the Council confirmed their previous decision, but no further steps were taken, until in 1848, the present Board of National Education in New South Wales, was nominated by the Governor, and was subsequently entrusted with a public grant of money. The Board adopted a code of regulations, and commenced to organize schools in various parts of the colony. In 1849, they deputed agents to make tours through various districts of the whole colony, including Port Phillip, (now Victoria,) and thus to establish some intercourse between the Central Board in Sydney, and such Local Boards of Management as might be formed by the people throughout the country.

I am in a position to state, by means of personal observation, and by inspection of official documents, that some forty and fifty meetings of the people were accordingly held in less than two years, that at each of those meetings the support of the National System was resolved upon, and subscribed for by the people, and that the subscriptions thus

pledged amounted to more than three thousand pounds. In few cases was there a dissentient voice, and in those few the dissentients were immediately outvoted. The National System may be therefore said to be progressing rapidly in New South Wales, and though it has not extinguished all opposition, it has risen superior to it. The principal arguments which have been adduced against it in the colony, I shall find occasion to mention and endeavor to refute hereafter. It is sufficient to state here, that in 1851, the Legislative Council having repeatedly declined to increase the grant in aid of Denominational Schools voted a considerable augmentation of the funds entrusted to the National Board, whose Model School in Sydney, was on all sides admitted to be the most valuable institution (of its kind) which had been seen in the colony. Indeed the two Sydney National Schools have shown what an egregious error was embraced by those who averred that such schools, however well adapted for rural districts, were ill-suited to towns. At the end of 1851, there were five hundred and eight pupils on the books of the Fort Street Model School, and five hundred and eighteen on the books of the William Street School, and the average attendance at each exceeded four hundred, while the average attendance at Denominational Town Schools in Victoria, was in the same year only forty-nine. As regards the appropriation of the money voted for the Denominational System, the following facts may prove interesting :—

Religion.	Population in 1851.	Apportionment of the Vote in aid of Denominational Schools in 1850.	Apportionment proposed in 1851 by Mr. Holroyd, and voted in the Council in New South Wales in 1851; based on the Census of 1851.	Apportionment proposed by Mr. Allen in the Council in 1851, regulated by the number of children educated.		Per centage of instruction opposed to his own belief, for which members of each Denomination voted in carrying out Mr. Holroyd's views.	Per centage of the Sects themselves.
		L. s. d.	L. s. d.	Scholars.	L. s. d.		
Church of England	93,137	4,020 0 0	4,364 3 8¼	5,496	3,963 0 0	About 47·	Above. 49·
Church of Rome	56,899	1,860 0 0	2,666 2 10¼	2,865	2,060 0 0	68·	30·
Church of Scotland	18,156	1,900 0 0	850 14 10¾	2,140	1,543 0 0	90·	9·
Wesleyans	10,008	570 0 0	468 18 11¾	1,080	778 0 0	95·	5·
Other Protestants	6,472	nil.	nil.	...	nil.	100·	3·
Jews	979	nil.	nil.	...	nil.	100·	·5
Other Persons	1,592	nil.	nil.	...	nil.	100·	·8
	187,243	8,350 0 0	8,350 0 0	11,581	8,344 0 0	.....	.....

It is unnecessary to trace very minutely the proportions above given, since such an approximation as may assist a bird's eye view is what I wish to present. In showing that a Church of England Denominationalist appropriates 47 per cent. to oppose himself—that a Roman Catholic denominationalist devotes 68 per cent. to the inculcation of what he considers heresy, and, so on, that each legislator works in still greater proportion of hostility to points of belief according to the numerically decreased proportion of his communion. I have no desire to hold the Council up to derision, but rather to prove how righteous has been their repeatedly declared resolution, not to extend the denominational system. Though their intention to abolish it in 1844 was burked by Sir G. Gipps, they have still held and professed the same opinion as to the preference due to the National System; and we ought rather to admire the humane forbearance which is charitable to an overgreedy beggar, than find fault with that temporary dereliction of principle according to which the Legislature has been more sinned against than sinning in the grants it has made.

In VAN DIEMEN'S LAND, (where some years ago the British and Foreign system was introduced, and met with much opposition,) I gather from a message to the Legislative Council, from Sir Wm. Denison, in 1851, that the results of the educational efforts of the colony have not been hitherto signalized by success.

"If," said His Excellency, "we consider the population of Van Diemen's Land, as 60,000, and that at least one-tenth should be in schools, we find that 6,000 should be at school." But the total number of children on the books of the Board of Education Schools, Church of England, Roman Catholic, and Infant Schools, was only 2,759; the average daily attendance being only 2,030. But supposing that one in six should be at school as in parts of America and in some other places, there would be nearly four times as many chil-

dren taught as there are in Van Diemen's Land. And again, supposing the cost of education of each child to be, as in parts of America, six shillings, we find that ten thousand children would be educated for three thousand pounds, while we see that the cost in Van Diemen's Land is five thousand and fifty-five pounds for educating 2,759 children, or at a rate of more than sixty per cent. more money than is paid in America, for very little more than a fifth of the work; the daily attendance being disproportionate to the total number of children on the school-books. Well might Sir William Denison point to this state of things as requiring improvement. And well may neighbouring colonies take warning by the dissipation of a system, which however well conducted, leads by means of State varieties of support, to multiplicities of State payment.

There is no occasion to beat about the bush to find arguments against so costly a system as is displayed in the following table. Well-intentioned as it may have been, and well-conducted as it may be, it bears within itself the germ of failure, and like the stricken hart it may for a while seek shelter, but its end is fast approaching.

"Hæret lateri lethalis arundo."

There is, however, one feature of combination in Van Diemen's Land, which, doubtless, renders their system far more useful than it would be if that particular of unanimity were abolished. There is an united system of inspection, and it is conducted by the son of one whose very name is associated with almost all that is laudable, not only in education but in religious singlemindedness and classical lore; Dr. Arnold, of Rugby.

TABULAR STATEMENT OF SCHOOLS IN VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

Schools.	Total number of pupils on books.	Average daily attendance.	Annual support given by the State.	Annual support given by Parents.	Cost of each child on the books to the State.	Cost of each child to the State, on computation from the number attending daily.	Cost of each child on the books to parents.	Cost of each child, attending daily, to the parents.	Cost to the country of each child on the books.	Cost to the country at large, reckoning each child attending daily.
			About. L. s. d.	L. s. d.	L. s. d.	L. s. d.	L. s. d.	L. s. d.	L. s. d.	L. s. d.
Church of England.	951	715	948 0 0	737 0 0						
Roman Catholic . .	317	236	307 0 0	110 0 0						
Board of Education.	1267	919	3100 0 0	609 0 0	1 16 6	2 9 9	0 11 5	0 15 6	2 7 11	3 5 3
Infant Schools . .	224	160	150 0 0	34 0 0						
General Expenses .	.....	.....	550 0 0	.....						
	2759	2080	5055 0 0	1590 0 0	1 16 6	2 9 9	0 11 5	0 15 6	2 7 11	3 5 3

I come now to SOUTH AUSTRALIA, and my duty as a narrator of the present state of things is in this case simple. During the Session of 1851, the Legislative Council of South Australia not only testified to the necessity of adopting a general system of education, but passed a Bill for the promotion of such a system. I need not detail any of the circumstances which induced the Legislature to frame a new educational measure; if the necessity for such a measure had not been manifest, it would not have been passed.

A Select Committee, appointed on the 8th October, to consider the propriety of bringing in a General Educational Measure, made their report on the 9th December following.

That report recommended the "bringing in a General Educational Measure for the Province," with the following provisions:—

"1. Security for religious liberty.

"2. Education in the schools erected by assistance from the public, to be based on the Christian religion, in accordance with the principle established by the Irish National System.

"3. Education not to be gratuitous, except in the cases of orphans and children of distressed parents.

"4. The formation of a Central Board of Education, to consist of seven members, to be nominated partly by the Legislative Council. Two to retire every year, being those who have given the fewest attendances, but to be eligible for re-appointment. No minister of religion to be a member of the Board.

"5. The Central Board of Education to have the appropriation of the funds voted by the Council,—to have the power to license school-houses and teachers deriving assistance from the State, and to withdraw licenses,—to fix the amount of salaries varying from forty to seventy pounds, in addition to the school-fees,—to determine the instruction, which shall be given; to assist in building school-houses, of

which the sites shall be vested in trustees, to be named by the Board, on the plans, &c., being approved of,—to receive the reports of the inspectors; and to make an annual report to the Governor and Legislative Council during each Session. The Committee recommend also, that the Educational Board should make arrangements for evening classes, and for itinerating schoolmasters in the remoter districts.

"6. The ages of scholars should not be limited.

"7. That there should be a chief and a second inspector, the former to be also the secretary of the Board.

"8. The Committee are of opinion, that the District Councils should have no control over the schools to be established under the Bill, and that their functions in this matter should be limited to visiting and reporting to the General Board or Inspectors.

"9. There should be a depôt for books, apparatus, &c., established under the supervision of the Board.

"10. The Committee recognise the importance of a Normal School, and recommend that provision should be made in the Bill for the funds necessary for its establishment, whenever the Board of Education shall deem it proper."

The recommendations of this report were accordingly adopted, subject to one or two partial changes.

For instance, the second recommendation is thus qualified or stated in the second clause of a Bill subsequently passed by the Council, and approved by the Lieutenant-Governor.

"In schools established, or to be established, under the provisions of this Act, the aim shall be to introduce and maintain good secular instruction, based on the Christian religion, apart from all theological and controversial differences on discipline and doctrine, and no denominational catechism shall be used."

The fourth clause enacts, that the seven members of the Board shall be chosen by the Governor and Executive

Council, two of the Board retiring annually, but being capable of re-election, and that no minister of religion shall be a member of the Board.

The maximum salary of teachers, except in the Normal School, was fixed at one hundred pounds per annum, and the minimum at forty pounds.

Having now glanced in a desultory, and I fear insufficient though perhaps tedious manner, at the educational status of the greater part of the old and the New World, of New South Wales, and some of the adjacent colonies, it might be expected that I should give a summary of what has taken place in Victoria. But, beyond stating in general terms, the munificent appropriation by the first Legislature and Government of the colony, I think it will become me to enter little, if at all, into a disquisition on the state of feeling here; what I have hereafter to say on general principles, will, wherever my deductions are sound, apply in full force to this colony and to political parties in it: further than that I would not wish to go:

. . . . hic stylus haud petet ultro
Quemquam animantem, * * * *

and in attacking what I consider false principles, I would scrupulously endeavor to avoid the imputation of making use of arguments which may have the semblance of unnecessary personality; at the same time it is obviously incorrect to abstain from denouncing an error, merely because it may be the favorite weakness of one's opponent; and, to an opponent who would desire to have such favor shown him, I would say with Bishop Watson, "If the description does not suit your character, you will not be offended at it; and, if you are offended with its freedom, it will do you good."

The following table will give some idea of the cost of punishing crime, and may lead to a conclusion that prevention is better than a vain attempt to cure:—

PROVINCE OF VICTORIA.

Year.	Cost of Judicial and Police Establishments.			Cost of School Establishments.		
	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
1836	352	13	9¼	nil.		
1837	1,137	15	10	nil.		
1838	3,956	16	11½	nil.		
1839	8,248	18	8	329	6	5
1840	15,968	11	3½	709	0	7
1841	29,570	16	11¾	930	12	10
1842	37,474	3	9½	322	3	3
1843	25,968	5	1½	347	9	5
1844	18,427	18	10½	873	11	10
1845	18,015	14	1	926	10	10
1846	18,148	16	6	884	8	8
1847	25,995	4	5½	1,313	7	2
1848	26,141	19	9	1,345	1	2
1849	22,566	18	2	1 057	15	4
1850	33,756	10	8	1 843	3	0
1851	51,971	1	8	5,949	8	9
	337,702	6	6½	16,831	19	3

The appropriations devoted in the present year, (1852,) will exhibit the same astounding disproportion; but I am not in a position to make a definite statement of the respective amounts.

For 1853, the appropriations for punishment of and protection against crime will certainly exceed three hundred thousand pounds, and will, perhaps, absorb nearly half a million. What a picture do these few words present of the prodigality of crime, and of the treasures which it exhausts! Well may we exclaim with the Roman poet,

> Sævior armis
> Luxuria incubuit, totumque ulciscitur orbem.
> Nullum crimen abest facinusque libidinis, ex quo
> Paupertas Romana perit.

In the wild scramble for material wealth in which the ill-trained mind places its idea of happiness, and in which to some extent the whole world has been for centuries engaged, a richer lottery has been opened in Victoria than any which the page of history unfolds; and by the same retributive justice which involved the loss of Roman virtue in the extent of Roman conquest, we find that the acquisition of the

glittering dross which is the object of our desire, brings with it a host of degrading consequences, of which by no means the greatest is the fact that the hunting down of crime amongst us, absorbs from the public treasury a far larger sum than the whole amount of our expenditure before our mineral wealth was patent to our gaze.

I do not say that the possession of that wealth is an unalloyed evil, I do not deny that it may eventually work for good; but I am sure that it is only by banding together with resolution to resist the torrent of unintellectual sensuality, to economize and thus to strengthen the resources and aids which the State can dispense in humanizing its masses, that any beneficial consequences can be expected to flow from the troubled fountains by which our future political condition must be determined. Mere wealth never made any country a great one; but riches have often paralyzed the industry, and impaired the virtue of a healthy commonwealth; and therefore though gold has been scattered in our path by Providence, it behoves us to remember that no effort should be spared, and no exertion can be too great, which can be afforded individually or collectively by every member of the community who has at heart the real interests of the country.

CHAPTER XIII.

I PURPOSE in this section to give a concise sketch of the scheme of education which the human mind requires, objectively and subjectively considered, in order that rulers may execute justice, and that those who are ruled may learn truth.

Politically speaking, if it can be established that the spread of knowledge conduces to a people's happiness, it may be taken as a sound axiom, that the State ought to assist in the advancement of education.

Now, not only do the statistics of crime prove that when ignorance abounds, crime is excessive, but history informs us that, in proportion as the mass of the people become intelligent, they become also happy and orderly. I have no need to seek for numerous authorities in support of such a position; I have already adduced the evidence of Lord Bacon on the point, and the proverbial meaning of the words "*brutal ignorance*," is in effect, sufficient to show the state of public consciousness on the subject. There are those who would murder consciousness; but "there's a divinity" about it which not only defies the treachery of a rebel, but compels him to bring the tribute of subject; and thus in the ordinary phrases of conversation, those who would refuse to act up to the general belief, are yet obliged to confess allegiance to it in their language.

In support of the position that enlightenment is beneficial to a nation, I would again appeal to the case of Scotland;—in 1696 beggarly and riotous; in 1850 intelligent, and, in the main, prosperous;—and, be it remembered, that the increase of population has rendered the gratification of physical wants, as well as the leisure for mental cultivation, a matter of far greater difficulty now than in the seventeenth century.

> For Emulation hath a thousand sons
> That one by one pursue; if you give way,
> Or hedge aside from the direct forthright,
> Like to an entered tide, they all rush by,
> And leave you hindmost.

Worldly intricacies make it extremely difficult to acquire, with sufficient rapidity, the knowledge which is required in order that a man may progress in life; the kind providence of God has, however, so ordered the adaptation of the truths of religion, that they do not require the same continual calculations derived from first principles as worldly wisdom is compounded of. Religion should be above all, in all, and through all; but its great principles, once heartily received, never fail to take deep root; and they are, moreover, so simple, that he who runs may read; so easily comprehended, that we find numerous instances in which the authority of Holy Writ testifies to the sudden and effectual operation of the Spirit of God upon the heart of man.

Yet ignorance was no passport to the pliability of the heart; on the contrary, we may infer that a cultivated mind was most ready to receive the tidings of deliverance. Of whom was it that our Saviour said, that he "had not found so great faith, no, not in Israel?" Was it of an ignorant man? Was it of one who had gone through diurnal repetitions in a Denominational School? Was it even of one of the elect nation of Israel? Far from it. It was of an intelligent and enlightened subject of ancient Rome, whose

enquiring mind made him a fit recipient of eternal truth; and it is worthy of remark, that the most illustrious teachers of Christianity were those who distinguished themselves in the early ages, before the State conferred aid upon, or even tolerated, the Church. Never did Christianity make such progress as during the three centuries immediately succeeding its promulgation, and yet never did it claim or receive less support from the secular power. There were no schools *then* in which Government money was paid towards religious indoctrination by a schoolmaster; yet we learn from St. Paul, that he doubted not that unfeigned faith was in Timothy, as it dwelt in his mother Eunice and his grandmother Lois; and it is incumbent upon those who would find fault with the ancient system, to show cause why it should be discarded, and why a modern insufficient system should be persevered in, in preference to reverting (so far as is required,) to the old custom of domestic and priestly indoctrination.

The frame of mind which our Saviour found in the Gentile centurion, is that which human Governments should endeavor to construct in each subject of every realm. The priest and the politician alike find their account in encouraging such a disposition, and it should be the aim of all schemes of education.

The virgin soil must be ploughed, and the good seed must be sown,—the preparation of the whole domain may be tedious, but the labor is never ill-requited: the State must cultivate, the divine must sow, and God will give the increase. But if the conflicts of divines, or those who dispute about methods of tillage, are allowed to prevent the adequate preparation of the soil, the increase will be mixed with thorns and briars; he who sows contradictions will reap strife; he who tampers with truth must expect to be requited with falsehood; and, thus, while learned arguments are going on, (about peculiar methods, for each of which

zealots are ready to pledge their lives and disturb their country; and yet, in each of which, we find that every zealot wishes other people to be brought round to his own opinion,) the people at large are neglected; or, in the language of the playful moralist *Punch*, while bishops sumptuously attired, Jesuits meekly dissenting, and serious visaged Presbyterians or broad brimmed Wesleyans, are loudly haranguing about the dirty little boy in the streets, and declaiming against the impolicy of letting him remain there, the object of their warm though not very tender solicitude finds employment for himself, and is cast upon the forced charity of his country, which provides that refuge for his body in a gaol, which was denied to the more important concerns of his mind. In other words, full grown vice is pensioned in prison, while lisping innocence is driven from the door.*

No one can deny that, if there were a free country, containing an united population, in which but one form of Christianity were known, the education of the youth of that country would be, both in school and out of school, strictly denominational, and at the same time national; but even then, it by no means follows, that the province of parent or priest should be invaded by the daily schoolmaster. To say that domestic education should be trifled with, because an attempt can be made to give sufficient education at a school, is equivalent to saying that one need have no stable or paddock for a horse, because if he be let loose he will find plenty of food in the bush. What is the consequence of such logic? In the one case the horse is lost, and in the other the holiest affections are weakened, or perhaps destroyed.

Let it not be supposed that I am now advocating a new doctrine; if it be different from that which is held by some people who call themselves Churchmen, it is because those people have swerved from the principles of the English

* The cost of each convict in this colony, may be estimated at about fifty-eight pounds per head at the present date, (July 1st, 1852.)

Church which was established by the Reformers; and I need not quote any meaner authority than that of Archbishop Tillotson, to prove what I say. Where I have an Archbishop of Canterbury on my side, I may probably find forgiveness for differing from the provincial Bishop of Newcastle. Tillotson, speaking of the advantages of catechizing, says:—"There being so great a necessity and usefulness in this way of instruction, I would earnestly recommend the practice of it to parents and masters of families, with respect to their children and servants; for I do not think that this work should lie wholly on ministers. You must do your part at home, who, by your constant residence in your families, have better and more easy opportunities of inculcating the principles of religion upon your children and servants. There you must prepare them for public catechizing, that the work of the minister may not be too heavy upon him." He then goes on to say, that parents must study the peculiar disposition of each child, in order to manage him the more effectually, by working, as it were, with wind and tide, and thus making rapid progress; he also urges that parents must endeavor to instil in the youthful mind *the general principles of Christianity;* and here I must quote his precise words:—

"Many parents, according to their knowledge and apprehensions of the religion in which they themselves have been educated, and too often according to their zeal without knowledge, do take great care to plant little and ill-grounded opinions in the minds of their children, and to fashion them to a party, by infusing into them the particular notions of a *sect,* which when they come to be examined, have no substance nor perhaps sense in them; and by this means, instead of bringing them up in the true and solid principles of Christianity, they take a great deal of pains to instruct them in some doubtful doctrines of no great moment in religion, and perhaps false at the bottom; whereby, instead of

teaching them to hate sin, they fix them in schism, and teach them to hate and damn all those who differ from them and are opposite to them, who yet are perhaps more in the right, and far better Christians than themselves. And indeed nothing is more common and more to be pitied than to see with what a confident contempt and scornful pity some ill-instructed and ignorant people will lament the blindness and ignorance of those who have a thousand times more true knowledge and skill than themselves, not only in all other things, but even the practice, as well as knowledge of the Christian religion; believing those who do not relish their affected phrases and uncouth forms of speech, to be ignorant of the mystery of the Gospel, and utter strangers to the life and power of godliness. And now what is the effect of this mistaken way of education? The harvest is just answerable to the husbandry,

Infelix lolium, et steriles dominantur avenæ.

They have sown the wind and they shall reap the whirlwind; instead of true religion, and of a sober and peaceful conversation, there will come up new and wild opinions, a factious and uncharitable spirit, a furious and boisterous zeal, which will neither suffer themselves to be quiet, nor any body that is above them. *But if you desire to reap the effects of true piety and religion, you must take care to plant in children the main and substantial principles of Christianity, which may give them a general bias to holiness and goodness, and not to particular opinions*, which being once fixed in them by the strong prejudice of education, will hardly ever be rooted out."

Further, the Archbishop points out that the beginnings of evil "should be checked by the parents, and that "as soon as the children are capable of it, they must be brought to the public worship of God; and when they leave the Church they should be questioned as to what they have heard, and taught to use family devotions;" and he winds up by recom-

mending constant watchfulness, instruction, and prayer on the part of the parents; for, as he says, "Parents may plant, ministers may water, but it is God that must give the increase."

Having thus shown that Archbishop Tillotson earnestly impressed upon parents and upon the public, the necessity of attending to domestic education, and of not causing vicarious instruction to be too much or too widely taxed, I will, having as I trust, satisfied Churchmen of the soundness of my views, endeavour to fortify myself with the opinion of no less a philosopher than Locke, who in this matter concurs with the Archbishop.

"The business of education in respect of knowledge is not, as I think, to perfect a learner in all or in any one of the sciences, but to give his mind that freedom, that disposition and those habits that may enable him to attain any part of knowledge he shall apply himself to, or stand in need of in the future course of his life. This, and this only, is well principling, and not the instilling a reverence and veneration for certain dogmas, under the specious titles of principles, which are often so remote from that truth and evidence which belong to principles that they ought to be rejected as false and erroneous."

Locke also concurs with Tillotson in reprobating any lop-sided or uneven methods of inculcating religion.

"There is indeed one science, incomparably above the rest, where it is not by corruption narrowed into a trade or faction, for mean or ill ends and secular interests, —I mean theology, which containing the knowledge of God and his creatures, our duty to him and our fellow-creatures, is the comprehension of all other knowledge directed to its true end; *i. e.*, the honor and veneration of the Creator and the happiness of mankind. This is that noble study, which is every man's duty, and every one that is called a rational creature is capable of. The works of *nature* and

the words of *revelation* display it to mankind in characters so large and visible, that those who are not quite blind may in them read and see the first principles and most necessary parts of it, and penetrate into those infinite depths filled with the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. This is that science which would truly enlarge men's minds, were it studied with that freedom, love of truth, and charity which it teaches; and were not made, contrary to its nature, the occasion of strife, faction, or malignity and narrow impositions. I shall say no more of this, but that it is undoubtedly a wrong use of my understanding to make it the rule and measure of another man's; a use which it is neither fit for nor capable of."

I need not multiply quotations of the same tendency as the above; the works of great men teem with them, and the experience of the world justifies them: neither is it necessary that I should here pause to show by statistical references that ignorance is the usual parent of crime; the subject is so repulsive, that without being driven to the unpleasant task of chronicling the vices and atrocities of one's race, the mere mention of them ought to be sufficient. Those who have even in a casual manner examined the records of crime, are aware that there are, in many populous countries thousands of parents utterly unable to educate their children; that the State does not step forward to supply the deficiency, and that thus hundreds and thousands of creatures made in the image of God, but born in the haunts of misery, are necessitated to herd with the ignorant and vicious; and from having been originally the slaves of association, are driven eventually to become the victims of the chain-gangs or the gallows.

But it is a far pleasanter task to trace what States should do, than to repine at what they have neglected. If it be determined that education is good, it yet remains to be decided whether the State should assist in it. As a matter of finance, under which aspect it is the fashion for politicians to

judge most questions, it is generally admitted that the cost of prosecuting the criminal, even during his youth, considerably exceeds the outlay which would have been involved in his education; and when we reflect that here the criminal costs forty or fifty times more than the school pupil, we find that in this colony a startling argument is thrust upon our notice. The immediate change produced by education has perhaps been never better exemplified than in the establishment of the Schools of Industry at Aberdeen. In the half year ending May, 1841, there were in that town no less than thirty juvenile convictions. The inhabitants were shocked at the state of things which had led to such a result; meetings were convened, a School of Industry was established, and at the end of one year, the evil had been so far mastered, that only six convictions took place in that time, and in the course of a few years, the improvement was so marked, that not only the Committee of the Schools of Industry, but the Police authorities of the County, found reason to congratulate the public upon the experiment which had been made. But it may be said that the amelioration of the manners of the young in Aberdeen is not proved, though it is asserted, to have sprung from the extension of education, and that it is necessary to show that ignorant countries are vicious. I could fast adduce volumes in support of such a position; but I shall content myself with one question. Where is the country in which the majority are educated, and in which they can be induced to act as the uneducated majority of the French did in 1792? Would a mob in Edinburgh stand by and see Christianity reviled and dethroned? Would the people in any educated country do so? Not one in fifty could read and write in France in 1792.

Again, it may be said, "Why flee to the Government for help in the formation of schools? Why should not society help itself?" Government is nothing more, I reply, than a machine set in motion by society for the performance of

society's work, and is then best discharging its duty, when it does most to contribute to the moral well-being of the people over whom it is appointed to rule. If, therefore, society is bound to help itself, Government is no less bound to be of use in the matter. Neither society at large, nor society as compacted in a form of Government has anything to lose by the spread of enlightenment. In the language of Bacon, "the conceit that learning should undermine the reverence of laws and government, is assuredly a mere depravation and calumny, without all shadow of truth. For, to say that a blind custom of obedience should be a surer obligation than duty taught and understood, is to affirm that a blind man can tread surer by a guide than a seeing man can by a light. And it is without all controversy that learning doth make the minds of men gentle, generous, maniable, and pliant to Government; whereas ignorance makes them churlish, thwarting, and mutinous; and the evidence of time doth clear this assertion, considering that the most barbarous, rude, and unlearned times have been most subject to tumults, seditions, and changes."

The world has indeed known a time when the existence of the soul after the dissolution of the body was, either generally unthought of, or disbelieved; in those days there were, without doubt, some grounds for supposing that if a man could carry burdens and obey his master, all was as it should be; but now, when the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and the knowledge of a future state, are truths which are imbibed almost with the atmosphere we breathe, what shelter can any man find for saying that the children of the poor need no mental cultivation? If a parent can be proved to have brutally used his child in a physical sense, whether by excess of punishment, or by withholding food, our law steps in to defend the child and compel the parent to perform his parental duties; and shall it be said that it is less brutal to starve the mind than to neglect or abuse the body?

Either the argument that the State has a right to assert the personal rights of the child, in a physical sense, must fall to the ground, or it must be admitted that the mental rights of the child, similarly demand recognition.

There are some, indeed, by whom I have been confidently told that it is far better for a man in humble life to know no more than how to do his daily labor; but I am happy to be able to add, that such reasoners are scarce, and I may well presume that the world can afford to see them scarcer. While the public purse is drained,—while police offices are crowded, and gaols are filled,—while human bodies are hung, and human souls are cast away, still does that portion of society, which reflects not upon the mode in which its neighbours live, descant with complacent ignorance on the absence of a necessity to open the windows of enlightenment that the darkness of the human mind may be dispersed.—"Some," they say, "must be rich, and some must be poor, and there is no use in making people discontented by teaching them to think,—in fact the less they think, the happier will they be;" (they take care, however, to educate their own children, which is apparently insincere,) and with this loose logic wags the wisdom of the worldly-wise; as, but for the invention of printing, its waggery would have continued since the days when it was written, "How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plough, and that glorieth in the goad, that driveth oxen, and is occupied in their labors, and whose talk is of bullocks? He giveth his mind to make furrows, and is diligent to give the kine fodder. * * The smith also sitting by the anvil, and considering the iron work, the vapour of the fire wasteth his flesh, and he fighteth with the heat of the furnace; the noise of the hammer and the anvil is ever in his ears, and his eyes look still upon the pattern of the thing that he maketh; he setteth his mind to finish his work, and watcheth to polish it perfectly; so doth the potter sitting at his work, and turning the wheel about with

his feet, who is alway carefully set at his work and maketh all his work by number; he fashioneth the clay with his arm, and boweth down his strength before his feet; he applieth himself to lead it over, and he is diligent to make clean the furnace; all these trust to their hands; and every-one is wise in his own work. Without these cannot a city be inhabited; and they shall not dwell where they will, nor go up and down: they shall not be sought for in public counsel, nor sit high in the congregation: they shall not sit on the judges' seat, nor understand the sentence of judgment: and they shall not be found where parables are spoken. But they will maintain the state of the world, and all their desire is in the work of their craft."

Nevertheless those who would keep the people in ignorance, would have them frequent churches, obey the laws, and elect fitting representatives to make those laws:—how shall the people understand the preacher, how shall they respect the laws, how shall they know what senator to support, if they are unable to think and to read?

One feels indisposed to argue seriously with those who would so much insult their Maker as to throw back with scorn his highest gifts; but yet, I will quote for their edification, the following eloquent passage from a speech made by the Bishop of Manchester, in August, 1851:—

"We are told, and every day and hour's experience too fatally confirms it, how great is the want of education. I grant it; but I will not use those general but too fine arguments in support of it, as that it is cheaper to pay the schoolmaster than the gaoler. I will not ask you to accompany me to the cells of the New Bailey, to the prison-house of the penal settlement; nor will I ask you to go into the streets and see the nightly wanderer plunged into such an abyss of degradation and wretchedness that she dare not hope for salvation,—starvation and misery being the inevitable consequence of any change in her unhappy situation. I

will not call upon you to reflect upon the bitter experience of those who have lost the opportunity of education until their only school was in the gaol, which only served to show how much they had fallen; but I ask you to consider what is due to yourselves. You are men who are Christians; some of you are fathers and husbands; all of you are members of society, sharers in one common hope, and though we may differ in opinion, yet, I trust, we all believe and remember that we may meet again hereafter. Look at the situation of the children of the lower classes; look at those who are crowding our streets wherever we turn. Are they not every one of them heirs of immortality? men born like yourselves, with the same hope as yourselves?"

Viewed religiously, therefore, education may be asserted to be good; viewed politically also, seeing that ignorance produces crime as surely as the seething scum rises to the surface in boiling water, it is as manifestly good; and viewed equitably, it is equally necessary, seeing that many crimes are *mala prohibita*, not *mala in se*, and it may be fairly called the duty of the State to express intelligibly the penalties it chooses to exact; and those penalties, moreover, cannot be understood if the people remain ignorant. Lastly, viewed financially, education may also be pronounced good, for it is only by a studious and diligent people that the resources of a country can be satisfactorily brought out.

But, having determined that society or government should bestir itself in promoting education, we have yet to define the mode in which education should be bestowed.

I think it is susceptible of proof that as education is the common right of all, and is to be defrayed from the common fund, it should be supplied from the public purse only so far as it can be supplied to all in common, without distinction of favor, party, or creed; that it should be given on the system usually called General or National Education. To do more than this, is to beg a question which the world at large has

not yet conceded, and, in explanation of which, the Divine Word has not yet been successfully interpreted or acted upon; whoever claims a right to force his own creed upon an unwilling subject, merely because he himself is conscientiously convinced that he is right, must of necessity allow the same privilege to every body else, who is equally zealous; and thus in acquiring dominion for himself, each person is compelled to admit that dominion to be untenable on grounds of justice and charity. "Taking the whole world, how much," says Locke, "is possessed by truth and orthodoxy. Though it is by the last alone (which has the good luck to be everywhere,) that error and heresy are judged of; for argument and evidence signify nothing in the case, and excuse no where, but are sure to be borne down by the infallible orthodoxy of the place. Whether this be the way to truth and right assent, let the opinions that take place and prescribe in the several habitable parts of the world, declare. I never saw yet why truth might not be trusted to its own evidence. I am sure if that be not able to support it, there is no fence against error, and then truth and falsehood are but names that stand for the same things."

It is not consistent with justice, or any sound principles of charity or economy, to inculcate any doctrine merely because there can be found for it some zealous partisan. But if you exclude one man from the personal triumph of spreading his particular views, you must exclude all from the same sectional advantages. When I say *all*, I do not of course mean that so small a minority as one, or two, or even ten per cent. of the entire population can expect the large remainder to forego the general belief. Nor can any general principle be supposed to be yielded on such slight grounds, or such apparent shortcomings. As far as mere zeal is concerned, the followers of the unfortunate man Thom, in Kent, or of Joe Smith, the Mormonite, in America, might have

claimed to have their hero-worship made an item of Government expenditure.

But, supposing it to be proved that education is good on religious, equitable, political, and economical grounds; and supposing it to be admitted that, in order to avoid a sacrifice of principle and a waste of means, National Education shall be defrayed out of the public purse only so far as the public can accept a common benefit, we have to decide upon the technical theory of administering that universal good of which the necessity has been admitted.

I would not now protract this part of my subject, were it not that I am persuaded that by appropriating some of the views, and where I can, the words of Mr. James Mill, I shall do much towards eliminating many of the errors which are apt to cling to the mind in considering the abstract principles involved in education, and towards showing the serious political evils which spring from apathy or misconception concerning the processes which characterize the human mind in its individual development, and its consequent impulses and affinities, when cast amidst the temptations and attractions of the tumultuous crucible of the world around it.

"Neque tam est acris acies in naturis hominum et ingeniis, ut res tantas quisquam, nisi monstratas, possit videre; neque tanta tamen in rebus obscuritas, ut eas non penitus acri vir ingenio cernat, si modo aspexerit."

As the eye of man could perceive nothing in utter darkness, and as the untrained eye makes numerous mistakes until experience has schooled it, so the mind of man can know nothing unless its capacities are furnished with an object on which the medium of mental perception and judgment or reflection may be exercised.

Perception and judgment are exercised upon every subject which a man hears of; he may perceive dimly, or through a distorted medium; he may judge rashly or erroneously; but some amount of thought and opinion is exer-

cised by the most careless of mankind; and the great danger to society is, when in the aggregate of the conceptions which sway the mass there is a larger proportion of error than of truth; in other words, when the association of ideas, which out of deference to Sir James Mackintosh, I prefer to call "association of thoughts with emotions, as well as with each other," is viciously rather than virtuously compounded. I am aware that in the mode in which I have stated this part of my argument, I may be accused of begging a question in psychological phenomena, which such great names as those of Reid, Kant, and Whewell, may be adduced to controvert; but I have on the other hand names still greater on the opposite rank to them, and for my present purpose (and I disclaim the use of Mr. Mill's theory, except with reference to the force of custom or habit in education,) even the views of Reid and his supporters are sufficient to support my position.* For, though they deny the truth of Locke's comparison of the uninstructed mind to a *tabula rasa*,† on which all its future knowledge must be inscribed in its worldly experience, yet as they admit that no knowledge can be obtained by, and no thought can originate in the human mind, unless it be furnished with an *object* on which its speculations or volition may be exercised, and as they do not

* The following words, which were used by Sir James Mackintosh in reviewing the Ethical Philosophy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, form a most appropriate corollary to the text, and may be adapted to the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of this work.

"It is needless here to trace the application of the law of association to the formation of the secondary desires, whether private or social. For our present purposes, the explanation of their origin may be assumed to be satisfactory.

"In what follows, it must, however, be steadily borne in mind, that this concession involves an admission that the pleasure derived from low objects may be transferred to the most pure; that from a part of a self-regarding appetite such a pleasure may become a portion of a perfectly disinterested desire; and that the disinterested nature and absolute independence of the latter are not in the slightest degree impaired by the consideration that it is formed by one of those grand mental processes to which the formation of the other habitual states of the human mind have been, with great probability, ascribed."

† The soul of man being, therefore, at the first, as a book, wherein nothing is, and yet all things may be imprinted, we are to search by what steps and degrees it riseth unto perfection of knowledge.—HOOKER'S ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

deny that the mode in which facts or objects are brought before the mind, seriously influences the judgment which the mind will form, they grant in reality all that need be asked by those whose object is to consider the effect of submitting to the youthful mind certain acknowledged truths, as contra-distinguished from the effect of allowing it to evade the consideration of those truths," and to run riot in a chaos of error; and indeed for all practical purposes, the philosophy of Locke, as now understood, viz., admitting reflection to be an inherent power, which only requires an object on which to use its energies,—is not only precisely the one which accords with the best parts of Mr. Mill's essay, but is with respect to education, unassailable by his opponents in philosophy.*

The mind, even if it have not only passive states of power but modes of operation independent of observation or experience, does not exercise any faculty, which is concerned in an enquiry into the process of education, except by perception of objects, or by the consideration of doctrines which are brought before it in its subjective state; and it is with that state only that I have now to deal. Whether it should be contended that the mind would have a power and will to think, independently of anything to think about, I am not now concerned to discuss; but I suppose it will readily be granted, that all objects or subjects of existing knowledge

* "The philosophy of sensation," says Frederick Schlegel, "which was unconsciously bequeathed to the world by Bacon, and reduced to a methodical shape by Locke, first displayed in France the true immorality and destructiveness of which it is the parent, and assumed the appearance of a perfect system of atheism."

"It is evident," says Dugald Stewart, "that the system of Locke is here confounded with that of Condillac. May not the former be called the philosophy of 'reflection' with as great propriety as the philosophy of 'sensation?'"

Now, as Bacon's philosophy may be called a sincere search for truth, and as Locke left this sentence on record—"Study the Holy Scriptures, especially the New Testament: therein are contained the words of Eternal Life. It has God for its author, salvation for its end, and truth, without any mixture of error, for its matter"—it may fairly be argued, that Schlegel knew not what manner of spirit they were of, and that his deduction of the consequences of their philosophy is, at least, as unjustifiable as it would be to say that the Hierarchy of the Church of Rome first displayed in the Borgias the characteristics of which it is the parent. To affirm, moreover, that the study of truth conducts to atheism, is an atheistical article of belief, which it was reserved for F. Schlegel to pronounce.

must be submitted to, and reasoned of by, the mind which would acquire learning; and this holds true with respect to the truths of religion, so far as men can teach them, as well as with regard to secular matters; otherwise it might be advanced that there could possibly be a Christian in some nation to which the Gospel has never been preached.

The human mind, then, contemplates objects, and receives impressions concerning those objects; from which impressions again, sensations, thoughts, and subsequently knowledge of truth, or conceptions of error, are engendered and entertained.

That this is true, may be inferred from the circumstance that the contemplation of the same facts produces now in different places different results. The mere factitious accident of birth makes a Pennsylvanian statesman acquire a conscientious horror of taking human life, while within a few days, or weeks' journey may be found the remnants of tribes whose glory is in the number of lives they have taken; yet each acts conscientiously; nor will the discrepancy in men's consciences be entirely accounted for by saying that as regards the ancient Pawnee and the modern Quaker, Divine Revelation has regenerated the one and not the other; for if we turn to China, we find that the profession of the soldier is held in contempt; while to be unwarlike, among the aborigines of North America, was the lowest type of degradation; and in both these instances, the Christian dispensation has exerted no influence.

Indeed, we find that St. Paul confirms the allegation that the antecedents of the mind may make it err in fact, though acquitted in conscience; for, acknowledging himself to be a sinner in a multitude of ways, he yet says that he had lived in all good conscience towards God.*

* Conscience is composed of emotions and desires which contemplate only those dispositions which depend on the will. . . . No advocate of the "intellectual origin of the moral faculty" has yet stated a case in which a mere operation of reason or judgment, unattended by emotion, could, consistently with the universal opinion of mankind, as it is exhibited by the structure of language, be said to have the nature,

If, therefore, it is the tendency of the human mind, in its eagerness for thought and action, to form views according to the order of its impressions, the true end of education is to cause only such impressions to be made, as are, or are believed to be by society at large, undoubtedly true; to do more than this is clearly to do wrong; to do less is to act unwisely; but there is more criminality in teaching one iota of untruth, than in leaving some truths to domestic or ministerial, or self-education. The State is not bound to encumber itself with the giving of any education which may reasonably be given by other means than a charge upon the public purse; but I think it is susceptible of proof that it is bound to give facilities for such an amount of education as will enable a subject to read and understand the formularies of his faith, and the laws of the land. When this has been done, the subject is fairly embarked in the social and political world; and after this has been done, in those States (at least) in which diversities of religious belief prevail, it is not the State as a contractor for general purposes, but the parents, sponsors, ministers, and the individual subject himself, who must be blamed for the want of further domestic, familiar, religious, and self-education. Undoubtedly, the State may undertake to teach every thing to every body, and failing to do this, may receive the blame of every body; but this species of cross fire between necessity to do something and inability to do everything, between respect for truth, and pandering to error, is a salve whose futility every day's experience assists to discover. For common purposes, the State, as the representative of the general will of society, lights the streets and paves the footpaths of a town; but who would tolerate a proposition that the State should illuminate every man's parlour, each with a light of such parti-

or to produce the effects, of conscience. Such an example would be equivalent to an "experimentum crucis" on the side of that celebrated theory. The failure to produce it after long challenge, is at least a presumption against it, nearly approaching to that sort of decisively discriminating experiment.—Sir James Mackintosh.

cular colour as might be chosen; or that it should arrange the tesselated pavement of every man's hall in accordance with the grotesque fancy of every claimant? Yet, who will deny that every man's peculiar weakness in these supposititious cases may as reasonably be granted as the request that in the multiform degrees or shades of religious belief, the money of a people may be suicidally voted.*

But to resume the analysis of the modes in which the human mind acquires knowledge of external objects.

Education may be called the series of means by which the mind is capacitated for the reception of truth; truth itself is divine, and revealed miraculously, or divinely created and left in its natural condition for the acquisition of man by painstaking; but all truth, to be received into the mind, must become the object of mental contemplation.

The mere enumeration of any number of abstract truths, by rote, is no step towards education, except of a faculty which man shares with parrots, though not in equal degree: such learning stands in the same relation to intelligence as a bare catalogue does to the bright creations in the books which it indicates; or, as the alphabet does to the words with which we express our thoughts. It is true that the possible collocations of alphabetical symbols seem almost endless, and that the sensations of the mind are infinitely more so, although they defy a complete analysis; and, it is for this reason that we may assert that education is never finished while the mind retains its vigour. Whatever may be done by the parent, the preceptor, or the priest, there yet remain to be encountered or enjoyed the sympathy of friends, the hostility of enemies, the frowns of adversity, and the smiles of fortune; all of which, combined with self-

* It is not charity to support a persuasion with one hand, and oppose it with the other; and it is a questionable piece of generosity to give such aid on the plea that the right hand should not know what the left hand giveth; but rather, it is, as I have elsewhere remarked, an evincement of duplicity which would hope to deceive Heaven, or of a simplicity which has deceived itself.

watchfulness and desire to improve, will unite in producing confirmation or abnegation of the accepted studies of youth: and it is in proportion to the truthfulness of character of those studies, that the contact with, and attrition of the world, will render them useless or profitable to the student.

There are branches of education to which I do not feel it necessary to advert here; it is merely with respect to the reception of mental impressions and the association of ideas that the significance of the word education is ordinarily accepted, and it is in that sense only that I shall dwell upon the duties of the State to assist its subjects: at the same time it must be acknowledged that, in their respective spheres, domestic, physical, social, and moral training, progress not alone in schoolhours; and it therefore behoves those who have at heart the advancement of their fellow creatures, to reflect that, however great may be the responsibilities of the teacher, and however lasting may be the results of his labors, the few hours at his command are not sufficient to justify the slightest neglect in the mode of appropriating the remainder of the day. The examples of playmates, and of friends, have often much more to do with the formation of character than can fairly be expected from the most diligent of teachers; and they very often subvert in a short time the labors of years. It may be said that, in this respect, the patriarchs had considerable advantages, seeing that each was the manager of his own social and domestic world, and no associations could be entered into without the express sanction of the master of a family: and this is doubtless the case; but it must also be remembered that no scientific precision of workmanship was then required, nor was there any competition in the race of life as regarded the procurement of present sustenance, or the gathering together of means with which to provide for families. When all the grass in one gulley or on one plain was nibbled off, the flocks were just driven to another; and, in the large

domains of unclaimed prairies, there was space enough for the formation of unnumbered homesteads. Few arts were needed by such a race, and few were taught; and thus the priestly and domestic functions of the head of the family found then, as the latter should now find, ample scope for exercise, in the manner which I have already pointed out to be conformable to Scripture. But the number of physical facts, of which a knowledge is now imperatively demanded by the complicated relation of society and of invention, has become so great, and these facts are so divided into distinct and almost innumerable partitions, that the division of labour, which, in religious and domestic instruction, is as free from complexity as it was under the Jewish Theocracy, is now, in secular matters, both intricate and multiform. One man must teach grammar, perhaps another arithmetic and mathematics, another the craft of the cordwainer, another the cunning of the carpenter, another the "fighting of the smith against the heat of the furnace," and so on, through the various gradations of mechanism or science; until it becomes clear that, as no one man could become a proficient in all the arts known to the world, so no one man would practically be so foolish as to send his child to school with the expectation that he could there acquire all the knowledge which would be necessary to him in the world.

Carefully confining myself to the duty of such a schoolmaster as the State might reasonably appoint, I shall not, I trust, trench upon the still more solemn duties of the parent and the clergyman.

The children of many parents are commonly sent to one school; economy for the parent, and efficiency of the teacher being equally secured by an arrangement which brings many scholars under the guidance of one master, and, by dividing payments among many, reduces the particular sum paid by each, while, at the same time, the aggregate payments form,

or should form, a handsome fund of remuneration for the teacher.

This principle regulates in modern society nearly all the concerns of life: the lighting and sewerage of a town, the maintenance of hospitals, and the insurance of ships, are all instances, by which division of risk and payment are made conducive to security and economy.

Thus stands the case, therefore; the schoolmaster is the deputy of the people for certain purposes: those purposes are not identical, and should not be confounded, with the duties of other persons, be they who they may: the teacher, who receives State support for a particular object, cannot arrogate to himself the province of any class in the community. For instance, if a man should assert that the labours of the schoolmaster should be the same as those of the clergyman, he would be in effect, asserting that the term schoolmaster, or the term clergyman, might be done away with; one being synonymous with the other.

Nevertheless, while pointing out the distinction between the provinces of the schoolmaster and other teachers of youth, I must not omit to dwell upon the fact that, as the teacher has control over the youthful mind during many hours of each day, so must he be a person well versed in the management of temper, in the inculcation of the broad principles of religion and morality, and in the amount of learning required in each order of society to which his pupils may be called. He is the governor of them all, and he should, within his province, know the bent of the minds of all.

"Quidquid recipitur, recipitur ad modum recipientis."

In vain would teachers strive to force the same rates and quality of knowledge upon all their pupils. The work of Procrustes was not moré destructive to the bodily health of the victims of his *lit de justice*, than would be the efforts of

teachers, to the minds of those to whom one unvarying measure of adaptation might be applied. The various capacities of several minds may be ministered to without an expectation that identical results will be secured in each case; as a large and small bottle must both be filled by a similar process of pouring into the neck, though the fulness of the one differs from the fulness of the other. What the friends of National Education are anxious to contend against, is the favouritism by which those who, like epicures in wine having a weakness for some special bin, insist upon filling a certain number of bottles with their peculiar liquor, of which no one else likes the flavour, and allowing the majority of the bottles to get filled with ditch-water; while, at the same time, it is an acknowledged fact, even by their own faculty, that there is an excellent liquor to be got, not perhaps so racy as that which tickles each man's palate, but healthy, and so applicable to all; that, by its use, it may fairly be hoped that the drinking of ditchwater will be rendered unnecessary and unknown.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE great aim of education is clearly to make each pupil contribute as much as possible to the happiness, future and present, of himself and his fellow-creatures. Rightly understood, therefore, the science of education embraces all the mental philosophy of every age, and, if it were possible, all truth; and not until the human mind shall have attained its culminating point, will the worldly acme of education have been reached.

This is an assertion which may fairly be made without any ascription of perfectibility to the human race, and it is without any such homage that I now make it. Dividing education into four main branches, we find that physical, moral, (including religion as the highest of all moral obligations,) social and political, are the terms which most readily express the bounds of educational prospects. From the physical I shall pass on to the moral, and this may be divided into religious, domestic, and scientific or technical, which last division must be considered as including all matters of inquiry into the processes of nature and the means by which man has endeavored to familiarize himself with them.

Now, in Moral Education, whatever the human mind appropriates amongst the received truths of the world, or from amongst its prevalent errors, is gained by experiment or doctrine, or by the hazard of a guess.

What experience proves to be true is knowledge, and the properties of the object correspond with our ideas.

What we assume by guess, is entirely suppositious, and the properties of the object may or may not correspond with our ideas—very often they do not; and every instance of disappointment in the world is an evidence of this truth. The fact that men are often wedded to false notions in which they implicitly place confidence, and which they conscientiously believe, ought to make us careful to trace the modes by which the introduction of error (whether in the lonely hovel, or the troubled street,) may be as much as possible avoided.

What then, to use the words of Mr. Mill, is that which we experience with regard to the human mind, and what is that which we guess? We have experience of ourselves when we *see*, when we *hear, taste, imagine, fear, love, desire*, and so on, and we give names accordingly, to distinguish what we experience of ourselves on one of those occasions, from what we experience on another. Other men exhibit *signs* of similar experience. When we *see, hear*, &c., certain actions of ours commonly follow; we know that if any one observing those actions were to infer that we had *seen* or *heard*, the inference would be just. As often as we observe similar actions in other men, we infer that they too have *seen* and *heard*, and thus we come to regard the *action* as the *sign*.

Having got names to distinguish the state or experience of ourselves when we say *I see, I hear*, &c., we find occasion for a name which will distinguish the having of any (be it what it may) of those experiences, from the being altogether without them; and for this purpose we say *I feel*, which will apply generally to any of the cases in which we say, *I see, I hear*, &c., and comprehends the meaning of them all. The term *I think*, is commonly used for a purpose nearly the same, but is not so comprehensive. There are several things

which we should include under the term *our experience of our mind*, to which we should not extend the term *I think*, but there is nothing included under it to which we should not apply the term *I feel;* this is truly, therefore, a generic term.* All our experience being thus limited to the term *I feel*, what does it amount to? What knowledge does it afford? First, it is a knowledge of the feelings themselves; we can remember what they were, *one by one*. Next, it is a knowledge of the *order in which the feelings follow* one another; and this is the sum of our experience.†

But this description is too general to afford much instruction; language is ill-adapted to describe feelings correctly, and we must advert to a knowledge of the feelings themselves. This, in *simple cases*, is easy; the feeling is distinct at the moment of experience, and is afterwards distinctly remembered; but the difficulty lies in the *complex cases*. It is found that a great number of simple feelings are apt to become so closely united as often to assume the appearance of only one feeling, and to render it difficult to distinguish the component simple feelings; and the distinction between the *complex* and *simpl feeelings* or *sensations* of the mind has given rise to much controversy. All philosophers, however regard the feelings which we are conscious of when we say, I *hear, see, feel, taste, smell*, as simple; and their results as comprehended or retained by the mind fall within the same category. The impression made is simple; the consequent idea in the mind is also simple; the idea not being the same as the original impression, but bearing a certain resemblance to it. Thus when we look at the light of the moon, the feeling we have is an impression, of light; if we close our eyes, we still have a feeling, which is the type of the impres-

* The use of the term "feeling" as denoting the process of abstraction or reflection, has been often objected to, but no more concise mode of expression seems to have been authorized by custom. Brown uses it as well as Mill.

† In preference to the use of the term association of ideas, Brown, the latest of our metaphysical writers, prefers to follow another though not a newer classification, under the term contiguity. Either arrangement will suit the purposes of the text.

sion ; we do not *see* the light, nor have we a present impression of it; but we conceive, or have an idea, or reflect upon it.

Impressions then, and correspondent ideas, are simple feelings ; and their being so, is not a subject of controversy ; but there have been, and are, numerous writers who will not allow that all our feelings are derived from the above simple elements ; they assert that there are original feelings besides impressions and ideas, and they allege by way of proof those sensations which we ascribe to the words *remember, believe, judge, space, time, &c.* It is useless here to occupy time in a discussion of the point thus mooted : whether we could remember without a receipt of impressions during time past, whether we could believe or judge without having had any impression of facts, whether we could entertain notions of space if we had never been placed in it, or of time without having had any opportunity of observing or hearing of its effects, or whether space and time exist, as Kant believed, only in our own minds, I shall leave the learned pens of Hume, Kant, Reid, Hobbes, Descartes, Brown, Condillac, Hartley, Locke, Whewell, and John Stuart Mill, to explain; and shall confine myself to embodying here the ingenious and subtle mode by which Mr. James Mill shows the theory of the order of succession of ideas, and the results which may be apprehended in society, if care be not taken to prevent the predominance of error in the nature of the impressions in which those ideas have their origin. At the same time I must guard against being considered an advocate of his general mode of thinking, on which I do not here touch.

Firstly, we have a knowledge of events ; secondly, of the order of their succession.

The expression in words, of the first, is history ; of the second, philosophy ; and to render that expression short and clear is the ultimate aim of philosophy.

The first steps, in ascertaining succession of events, are familiar and easy. One occurs, then another, then a third, &c.; but it is at first uncertain whether this order is not accidental, and such as may never recur. After a time it is observed that similar events occur again and again. It is next observed, that these events have each their regular consequents, similar time after time, and there is thus an endless round of the same sequences. If the order of events were always different (instead of similar in certain cases,) we could know events only one by one, and they would be too numerous to receive names. If events were in couples, or pairs, they would still be too numerous to be named. The history of the human mind informs us that the sequences which men first observe are but short; they are still, therefore, too numerous to receive names. But men compound the matter. They generalize. They give names to those sequences which they are most interested in observing, and they leave the rest unnamed. Then, when they have occasion to speak of the unnamed successions, they apply as well as circumstances permit, some of the names already in use; endeavouring to make a partial naming serve an universal purpose; and thus arises much of the confusion prevalent in language and thought.

The great object is, therefore, to ascertain sequences more or less extensive, till at last the succession of all events may be reduced to a number of sequences sufficiently small for each of them to receive a name; and then only will speech be wholly free from confusion.

Language itself affords an instructive example of this mode of ascertaining sequences; in language, words are the events. When an ignorant man first hears another speak a language unknown to the hearer, he distinguishes sounds one by one, but observes no sequence; at last he gathers a knowledge of the use of a few words, and then he has observed a

few sequences, and thus he perseveres until he understands whatever he hears.*

The sequences, however, which he has observed, are of no greater extent than is necessary to understand the speaker's meaning; they are, consequently, numerous and confusing; next comes the grammarian, and he, by dividing the words into different kinds, observes that these kinds follow one another in a certain order, and he thus ascertains more enlarged sequences, and by this process reduces their number.

Nor is this all; it is afterwards observed that words consist some of one syllable, some of more than one; that all languages may be reduced into syllables, and that syllables are much fewer than words; and that therefore the number of sequences in which they can be formed are less in number, and consequently more extensive. This process forms another step in tracing to the most comprehensive sequences the order of succession in that class of events wherein language consists. It is afterwards observed, that these syllables themselves are compounded, and it is ultimately found that they are resolvable into a small number of elementary sounds, corresponding to the simple letters. All language is then found to consist of a limited number of sequences compounded of particular combinations of a few letters. That this is a parallel case to the law of association of ideas is not asserted; but it is sufficiently analogous to point out the theory which is intended to be conveyed.

It presents a remarkable similarity between the analysis of a complex sound, viz., a word, which is resolvable into

* A straw shows which way the wind blows, and the following trifling incident fully bears out Mr. Mill's reasoning in the text; and although in the particular case quoted, the child generalized too soon, and had hastily assumed a particular order of sequences, the process imputed by Mill is not the less indicated.

The case was this:—A child not four years old, heard a mere infant repeating a sound which seemed like the word "dida't:" After listening a short time, she ran across the room, and asked "Why does baby say 'didn't?" That's not right; he ought to say 'didn't do:' 'do' comes after 'didn't.'" If any psychological fact could be contemptible, I would not have introduced so simple an one as this.

simple letters, or types of the conditions of sound, and the analyzing of a complex feeling, such as the idea of a rose, into the simple feelings of sight, touch, taste, and smell, of which the complex idea or feeling is made up. It is, moreover, a proof of the necessity of rigorous investigation of principles, and of deductions; and of the dangerous consequences which would result from a complacent acceptation of ready abstract generalization, or from a plausible and cursory view of that which is apparently a truism and final principle, though it is in reality, a concrete assemblage of primary and simpler facts. Many simple ideas are compounded by a skilful observer in a moment; while he who is slower of comprehension is beating innocently and ignorantly about the bush; for mental vision is more unequally distributed, or more unequally developed, than bodily sight.

If the seven prismatic colours be passed rapidly before the eye, the sensation produced is that of whiteness; and if all men's minds were equally sane, and equally constituted and trained, the analysis of a complex feeling would be a subject of no greater difficulty than the separation of the rays of light. And herein consists the grand error of all systems of political and social government; that, instead of tracing and moulding the physiological elements of the materials entrusted to them, they allow those elements to become confused, and to degenerate, so far as to find occasions of antagonism rather than of affinity, and then they step in with the therapeutic ministrations of the policeman, or the pathological science of the hangman, and take no small credit for the efficient discharge of a duty which is itself a stain upon society, a condemnation of Government, and a stumbling-block to religion. Now as the harmony which should be the consequence of sound education would result from the feelings, thoughts, and actions of individuals, and consequently of the community, the business of education is to make certain feelings or thoughts take place rather than others; viz.,

to work upon the mental successions. As the sequences among letters, or elements of speech may be made to assume all the differences between folly and wisdom, nonsense and philosophy, so the sequences in the feelings which constitute human thought, may assume all the differences between the extremes of madness or wickedness, and the greatest attainable perfection of wisdom or virtue; and almost all this difference is the fruit of education.

Individual minds may differ in their capacities, but the distinction between *classes of men* are the results chiefly of education; and all these distinctions may be levelled, not by the pulling down of the wise, but by the setting up of the simple; not by closing the temple of truth against the wealthy, but by handing to the poor a passport to the vestibule. Who would not join in the endeavour to produce such a result?

The object of education is to provide for the production, and to ensure, as far as may be, repetitions of those sequences or trains which are proved to be beneficial. Now, to effect this, no blind custom can suffice; for as Bacon says, a reliance upon custom to produce this, would be like confidence that a blind man could walk as well by means of a guide as a seeing man by a light; we must therefore labor to inform the mind with truth, in order that thus each individual mind may be well balanced, and that the aggregate sum of intelligence amongst the people may be raised in proportion. This is sound policy in education, social statics, and political institutions.

I am not forgetting that there are such things or names as passion, emotion, appetite, pleasure, and pain. Each of these will, perhaps, assert its predominance upon particular occasions; but I keep also in remembrance that with the well-informed mind the best road to happiness is goodness,—that the goodness and happiness of individuals conduce to those of their fellow-creatures, and that by an equitable recognition of

the claims of the many and the duties of the few, the same force of custom which has for ages led men astray, might be managed so as to impel them in the paths of virtue. "Quis est," says St. Augustine, "qui velit decipi? Fallere nolunt boni; falli autem nec boni volunt nec mali."

I do not mean to say absurdly with Helvetius, that all men can advance in equal manner; there are, and I believe there always will be, mental idiosyncracies, and therefore mental differences, in the same way that there are various physical developments in the human race; but I do mean to say that so far as mental training can induce habits of thought, it is advisable to cause such sequences or trains to arise in the mind as are based on religion, charity, and truth, and to discard utterly all those sequences which have any relation to vice. Is this a chimera? Solomon in his wisdom said, "Train up a child in the way he should go, and he will not depart from it." But Solomon never intended it to be inferred, that if he had had children by each of his seven hundred wives, he would have brought them up, one a Sidonian, another a Ammonite, another an Abyssinian, another a Caucasian, &c. It may be possible that even so wise a king as Solomon, would have failed to persuade his wives to embrace the one true faith; but it never can be believed probable that he himself in such case would have made such a compromise as to surrender his reason to their ignorance, and (by way of supporting the truth,) to support every possible means of error. When, indeed, he was led away by some of his wives, he was not induced to bow down to *all* of their false gods. Yet, if Solomon had done this thing, he would have been doing in principle what the advocates of denominational education wish the State to do, viz., to bow down in separate places, to contradictory doctrines, and to pay out of the public treasury the wages of such an unholy competition. It is the duty of the State to dissociate if possible, in the minds of its subjects their own desires

and the pains or penalties of their fellow-creatures; he whose apparent though unreal happiness is built upon other men's miseries, is the example of a bad son, bad father, and bad citizen,—hunc, tu Romane caveto. But he in whose mind the happiness of others is associated with his own desires, is a real benefactor, not only of his family or age, but of the human race, and throughout all time; and his is the throne to which kings themselves might bow.

If we admit with Lord Bacon that, religiously, and morally as well as physically, those can walk best who can see for themselves; and if it be admitted, as it generally is, that each man's best and purest pleasure is to be found in advancing the general and ultimate interests of his kind, it naturally follows that he who opposes the spread of enlightenment in preference to promoting it, is, *ipso facto*, laboring to produce misery rather than happiness amongst his fellow-creatures; and the converse of this proposition may therefore be embraced by the friends of education, as their solace and their hope.

The question, says Mr. Mill, and it cannot be exceeded in magnitude, is, what is the degree of enlightenment attainable by the most numerous class? To this we have no doubt a consolatory answer may in time be given. It is almost universally acknowledged, that on all conceivable accounts it is desirable that the bulk of the people should not be wretchedly poor; that when they are thus poor, all classes are vicious, all are hateful, and all are unhappy. If raised above wretched poverty, so far as to be capable of virtue, though labor still is necesary, they are not bound down to such incessant toil as to have no time to acquire knowledge. Above all, a certain portion of the first years of life is admirably adapted to this great end. With a view to the productive powers of the physical frame itself, it is desirable to withhold it from labor before a certain age. This is the same with animals; a horse becomes less valuable,

with regard to that very labor for which he is valuable at all, if he is forced upon it too soon. There is, therefore, an actual loss in the economy of productive powers, if the youth of a community are too early doomed to toil.

But if the spring of life be skilfully employed in hiving sustenance for a future season; if those sequences of thought on which intelligence and love of truth depend, be rendered habitual when the mind is plastic and impressible, it may be shown that a very high degree of enlightenment may be attained, and a firm foundation may be laid for life of mental action, of virtue, wisdom, reflection, and ingenuity.

Man is a progressive being, and is, by that reason which enables him to progress, distinguished from the brute; when he is most progressive, he most completely fulfils his destiny; and institutions which are hostile to progression, are therefore as preposterous and vicious things as the mind of man can conceive.

Having thus glanced at the general theory of what should be done in educational establishments, I think it needful to say but few words on the practical modes of adapting education to the pupil; there are very many excellent works which embrace this subject fully, and to them I must refer the reader. I shall merely state here, that the functions of the schoolmaster, if applied to each youthful mind in a community, are second to none but those of the clergyman, and those of the latter would in rare instances be efficacious without the aid of the former. It is true that teachers have not been uniformly looked upon as more important than policemen, bailiffs, accountants, or even chefs de bureaux; but it is no less true that they are so; and if any one will seriously reflect upon the weightiness and depth of the trust of moulding the mind of a nation, he will naturally come to this conclusion. To compare the importance of a Bow-street magistrate to that of a teacher, is as absurd as it would be to say that a repetition of nauseous though necessary doses,

is equivalent to an uninterrupted and perfect state of health.

The qualifications of a teacher are propounded in the Rules of the National Board in Ireland; and the modes of teaching now in vogue, in England, Ireland, and on the Continent, are composed of a judicious administration of the methods known as simultaneous, individual, mixed, and mutual. The mechanical arrangements of the buildings, the disposition of furniture, the supply of books and apparatus, the organization and disposition of the school, are each and all matters of no considerable importance, in dealing with which, as well as in observing the discipline of his pupils in their play-ground, an efficient schoolmaster finds opportunity of deriving advantages;—but I need not here expatiate upon them.

I will not, however, conclude this chapter without adverting to social and political education, and the effects which Mr. Mill points out as arising from them. In the first, society is the institutor, and the sources of the influence exercised are the principles of imitation, and the power of society over our happiness and misery.

It has been shown, that by words or signs of what is passing in the minds of others, we are made to conceive, step by step, the trains or sequences which govern them; and that those trains, by repetition, become habitual to our own minds, and exert a kindred influence to that which arises from our own impressions.

It is evident that those trains which are most habitually passing in the minds of all those individuals by whom we are surrounded, must be made to pass with great frequency through our own minds, and must also, unless preventive care be exercised, engross to a proportionate degree a dominion over us. Hence we may see the comparative futility of storing the mind with sectional information, since the contact of an uncongenial world is apt to cloud or over-

whelm such learning, and perhaps to displace truth as well as error. General consent is epidemic; and to expect that maxims sectionally enforced can withstand the power of usages which affect, not sections only, but the mass of the people, is equivalent to the pastoral wisdom which would keep sheep free from ill-contagion up to a certain age, and then turn them loose amid disease. Where is the flock-owner so foolish as to allow a considerable number of his sheep to become diseased, and to keep the remainder apart from the unhealthy only until all are strong enough to climb the mountains freely? And who is he that would not suspect a veterinarian of casting a sheep's eye upon future advantage if such a course were the one advised? But, observe the advantages which spring from informing the general mind with truth, from keeping the whole flock out of the way of infection. If the desire of the public mind be virtuous and enlightened, the desires of individuals must, in order to evade disapproval, have similar tendencies.

Nothing is more remarkable than the intense desire which men feel for the favourable regards of their kind. Few could bear to live under exclusion from the sympathies of all other human beings. Even the greatest and most truculent despots would confess, like Frederic of Prussia, that they laboured "*pour faire parler de soi.*"

It is the easy command which wealth and power procure over the favourable regards of society, which makes the desire of wealth and power, unbounded.

It is true, that a tyrant like Nero may fix his desires upon the regards of the vicious, but it has been shewn that if the minds of all were well educated and regulated, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to create an influence nourished by a dependence on the patronage of vice.

Such trains of thought, and such course of action, as most strongly recommend us to the favourable regards of mankind, are those which we feel the strongest inclination to

cultivate and display; and, such as we are assured could meet with reprobation, we are tempted to avoid. These inducements are continually operating in society, and form no slight part of the education which each mind receives. Good domestic and school instruction, *may* resist or overcome the bad social tendencies which are to be encountered, but the pleasures, rewards, and punishments, which society has to bestow,—the good and evil it can withhold, are so great,—that the character which the world delighteth to honor can seldom fail to be the leading object, the god of the idolatry, of those of whom society is composed.

How wise then to endeavour to instil, not sectionally but universally, the principles of Christianity and Truth!

Lastly, I come to Political Education, in relation to which, I shall merely transcribe Mr. Mill's words :—

"It is the key-stone of the arch; the strength of the whole depends upon it. We have seen that the strength of *Domestic* and *Technical* Education depends almost entirely on the *Social;* and it is certain, that the nature of the *Social* depends almost entirely on the *Political;* and the most important part of the *Physical* (that which operates with greatest force upon the greatest number, the state of aliment and labour of the lower classes) is, in the long run, determined by the action of the political machine.

"The play, therefore, of the political machine acts on the mind with great power; but this is not all, it acts also upon almost every thing else by which the mind is apt to be formed in character.

"It is a common observation that, such as is the direction given to the desires and passions of men, such is their character.

"The direction is given to the desires and passions of men by one thing, and one thing alone,—the means by which the grand objects of desire may be attained;—and it is certain, that the means by which they may be attained, depend

almost wholly on the political machine. When the political machine is such, that the grand objects of desire are seen to be the natural prizes of great and virtuous conduct,—of high services to mankind, and of the generous and amiable sentiments from which such services or endeavours naturally proceed,—it is natural to see diffused among mankind a generous ardour in the acquisition of all those admirable qualities which prepare a man for admirable actions.; great intelligence, perfect self-command, and over-ruling benevolence.

"When the political machine is such, that the grand objects of desire are seen to be the reward, not of virtue nor talent, but of subservience to the will, and command over the affections of the ruling few; that interest with the man above is the only sure means to the next step in wealth, power, consideration, and so on,—the means of pleasing the man above become in that case the great object of pursuit. And as the favours of the man above are necessarily limited, —as some candidates for his favour can only obtain the objects of their desire by disappointing others;—the arts of supplanting rise into importance, and the whole tribe of faculties expressed by the words—intrigue, flattery, backbiting, and treachery, are the fruitful offspring of that political education which Governments cannot fail to produce, where the interests of the subject are made but a secondary object."

The faults which Mr. Mill here points out, are irrespective of any ostensible form of government, and apply cogently to the actuating spirit. France nominally enjoys a republic; yet no country is a more apt illustration of the servile vices above enumerated, while England, under a monarchy, affords the fittest instance of a well-organized system of government, and of disinterested patriotism among a people.

I can imagine that it may be said that the applause which is courted by the vicious, is of a vicious nature. Undoubtedly

it is so: but why? Simply because the only associations of a certain class of people lead to such applause as the object of desire. Society, instead of having a common object, contains its clans and antagonisms in the same manner that the world contains its hostile nations. The will of the majority may be opposed to the desire of the thief; but the thief's world will applaud him for duping or robbing the majority, just as warmly as Circassian patriots extol their hero who has defeated the Russian army. The object of society, not only politically, but in a social and moral point of view, should be to instil so generally the doctrines of truth, as to deprive the thief of even that miserable countenance he now commands; to lessen the ranks of ignorance and vice as much as possible, and, by so doing, gradually to extinguish the contempt of virtue and the toleration of vice.

I believe that the principle of Mr. Mill's theory here embodied is a sound and philosophical view of the question, and submit it the more readily, because it was penned before the national education I am advocating, had been brought forward in Great Britain.

I trust that many will agree with the theory, and will be inclined to exclaim with Wordsworth:—

> Oh! for the coming of that glorious time,
> When, prizing knowledge as her noblest wealth
> And best protection, this imperial realm
> While she exacts allegiance, shall admit
> An obligation on her part to teach
> Them who are born to serve her and obey:
> Binding herself by statute to secure
> To all her children whom her soil maintains
> The rudiments of letters, and to inform
> The mind with moral and religious truth
> Both understood and practised—so that none,
> However destitute, be left to droop
> By timely culture unsustained; or run
> Into a wild disorder, or be forced
> To drudge through weary life without the aid
> Of intellectual implements and tools?
> A savage horde among the civilised,
> A servile band among the lordly free!
> This sacred right, the lisping babe proclaims
> To be inherent in him by heaven's will,

For the protection of his innocence;
And the rude boy—who, having overpast
The sinless age, by conscience is enrolled,
Yet mutinously knits his angry brow,
And lifts his wilful hand on mischief bent,
Or turns the godlike faculty of speech
To impious use—by process indirect
Declares his due while he makes known his need.
This sacred right is fruitlessly announced,
This universal plea in vain addressed
To eyes and ears of parents who themselves
Did in the time of their necesity
Urge it in vain; and therefore like a prayer
That from the humblest floor ascends to heaven,
It mounts to reach the State's parental ear;
Who, if indeed she own a mother's heart
And be not most unfeelingly devoid
Of gratitude to Providence, will grant
The unquestionable good. * * *
The discipline of slavery is unknown
Amongst us;—hence the more do we require
The discipline of virtue; order else
Cannot subsist, nor confidence, nor peace.
Thus, duties rising out of good possessed,
And prudent caution needful to avert
Impending evil, do alike require,
That the whole people should be taught and trained.

Then, when the poet has sketched, as only a poet can sketch, the glorious effects which would spring from the adoption of his views, he adjures the Senate of England, in burning words, which may well be applied to the Legislature of every British Colony.

Vast the circumference of hope;—and ye
Are at its centre, British lawgivers;
Ah! sleep not there in shame! Shall Wisdom's voice
From out the bosom of these troublous times
Repeat the dictates of her calmer mind,
And shall the venerable halls ye fill
Refuse to echo the sublime decree?
Trust not to partial care a general good;
Transfer not to futurity a work
Of urgent need:—Your country must complete
Her glorious destiny. Begin even now,
* * * *
Shew to the wretched Nations for what end
The powers of civil polity were given."

I trust that I have exhibited no undue presumption in

advancing my personal opinions in this work, and that the frequent references I have made to great names may be a guarantee that my object has been rather the promulgation (in a concentrated form) of authentic *data*, than to obtrude my own crude conclusions upon the weighty topic I have in hand: but I cannot refrain from remarking here, that never was there a community which more required the aid of Educational Institutions, than that of Victoria;—never had any country greater need of banding together all that is virtuous and patriotic in its social, political, and domestic concerns; and never was there a crisis in any country more glorious to be availed of, or more dangerous to neglect, than the one which now convulses the scarcely organized social system, in which the portentous treasures of Mount Alexander have been revealed.

Let any one scan but cursorily our streets, and pronounce whether opportunities of mental culture are within reach of, or accepted by the people.

If the schools are filled, whence come the droves of idlers that waste their young energies in a monotony of empty amusement, or sharpen their wits by the reception of the deadly tuition of the veteran in debauchery and crime? If the schools are not filled, of what avail is it that during its first Session the Legislature voted upwards of £10,000 for the promotion of Education? or more than double the money required in America to educate all the youth of a State containing a similar population?

They are blind indeed who think that "the let alone" of one or other system of Education "lies in their good will."

Education of some sort is always going on with every intelligent being: the capacities of a school truant are not torpid; his passions exist, his keenness of imitation is impulsive, as strongly as in the most studious of his play-fellows; and there are not wanting companions to urge even the conscientiously disposed.

The schools of folly are always open, and never need students or professors; and those who would abandon to his fate any child in the community, far from leaving him in a fair position as regards a search after truth, are in effect casting him upon the training of street casualties, evil desires, and mischievous associations.

Yet of those few who oppose National Education, it is conceivable that some do not perceive that their principles are daily sending students to matriculate in the University of "Fagin." *

* To accomplish the great purposes of elementary instruction, experience has in fact shewn us that it must be made to assume another form (than that of the voluntary system.) A more effectual guidance must be given to it, and the majority of the community must be brought under its influence; for however good may be the education which we give to any small proportion, it is contrary to experience to suppose that its influence will not be lost in the preponderating ignorance, or that whatever may have been done for the religion and morality of the few, will not yield to the demoralisation and the irreligion of the many.—Rev. H. Moseley, Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools, 1850.

CHAPTER XV.

But it may be said, why, since there is a Denominational System, why support the introduction of a National one?

I answer, because the Denominational System has been proved to be a failure: and I take my stand on the opinion of Sir George Gipps in 1839, and the Report of the Committee of the Legislative Council of New South Wales in 1844.

There was then no rival system to distract the efforts or weaken the influence of the Denominational Schools, and yet they are admitted to have failed: it may be conceded that now, while there is a National System in operation, neither system can fairly be estimated as regards expense: and it must also be conceded that *only by giving the National System a trial by itself, can it be proved as fairly as the Denominational had been tried in* 1844.

I shall find ample condemnation of the principles of the system without travelling away from the figures of the census, and the admissions of the Bishop of Newcastle.

The census of New South Wales exhibits the following distribution of the population in 1851, as regards religion.

Church of England	93,137	or above	49·2 per cent.
Church of Scotland	18,156	"	9·6 do.
Wesleyan Methodists	10,008	"	5·3 do.
Other Protestants	6,472	"	3·4 do.
Roman Catholics	56,899	"	30·3 do.
Jews	979	"	·5 do.
Mahomedans and Pagans ...	852	"	·4 do.
Other persuasions	740	"	·3 do.
	187,243		

In 1851, the grant for Denominational Schools was thus divided:—

Church of England,	£4,020	or above	48·$\frac{39}{100}$ cent. of the grant.
Presbyterians	1,900	"	22· do.
Wesleyan	570	"	6· do.
Roman Catholics ...	1,860	"	22· do.
	£8,350		

And this division of the money being considered inequitable, the sum was readjusted in 1851; so that in 1852, each denomination will receive according to its numerical relation to the whole community.

This readjustment, the Bishop of Newcastle urged, was quite fair, for neither of the Churches of England and Rome suffered by it; and as for the Wesleyans and Presbyterians, he recommended that they should be called upon to close their schools or hand them to the National Board, which alternative would be no great hardship, as both communities were zealous promoters of the National System.

It does not appear to have occurred to his Lordship, that as the Wesleyan Schools cost only 13s. 10$\frac{3}{4}$d., and the Church of England £1 4s. 1d. per head, the expense of the system might have been adjusted by the ratio of the good done, rather than that of the disbursements effected.

But this it is, to have sectarian advantages in view; a

man who has gazed long upon "idols of the tribe," as Bacon says, gradually acquires so distorted a vision, that it is impossible for him to see with the healthy impartiality of nature. One cannot blame him; he speaks according to his impressions, and those impressions have their origin in that morbid state of mind, which in excess of zeal to perform a part, drags the play of Hamlet on the stage without Hamlet, or proclaims and enforces religion without charity and therefore without reasonable hope.

But the Denominational School Grant was divided in order to render its distribution equable, and as detailed in the twelfth chapter, the Church of England gained a little more than £300; the Roman Catholics gained about £800; the Presbyterians lost more than £1,000, and the Wesleyans about £100;—Denominational principles requiring these changes.

The foregoing facts show that in the distribution of the Denominational Grant it has been the custom for each church to obtain all the money it could, and to spend it good humoredly or otherwise, without reflecting, that in order to get its own share, it was sanctioning the appropriation for other and hostile purposes, of a larger amount than it received itself.

Thus, in round numbers, the Church of England when receiving about forty-eight per cent., was a consenting party to the grant to Roman Catholics of twenty-two per cent., to Presbyterians of twenty-two per cent., to Wesleyans of six per cent. The Roman Catholics to get twenty-two per cent., scattered seventy-eight per cent. amongst those they call heretics. The Wesleyan denominationalists, to get six per cent. voted for the alienation, to other persuasions, of about ninety-four per cent.

So that we see denominational zeal not only baulks the intelligence of a people, but the intentions of its partizans. It does not "to do a great right do a little wrong;" but

to do a little right does a great deal wrong. I may say this without accusing any denomination of error in its belief. Where four people differ, one only *can be*, and it is possible that none *may be* right; and to pay all upon the chance of supporting the right in some degree, is much upon a par with the bushmanship of the man who, having twenty miles to go in a straight line, keeps continually going a few miles first in one direction and then in another, until he finds too late that he has lost his labor and has risked his life.

"It is somewhat remarkable," said Burke, "that this reverend divine should be so earnest for setting up new churches," (in Australia read schools,) "and so perfectly indifferent concerning the doctrine which may be taught in them. His zeal is of a curious character. It is not for the diffusion of truth, but for the spreading of contradiction."

Just so is it where the money and supervision of the State are expended in inculcating contradictory principles; not only is an indifference to truth thus exhibited, but worse than indifference is inoculated upon the pupil; how shall he respect any of the opposing dogmas which are paid for in one place and denounced in another, *at the cost of the same fund?*

Truth would indeed have little chance in the world, if it were to be acknowledged that truth and error deserve equal support; and as the majority of mankind are not yet Christian, if it be asserted that the fostering of dogmatic teaching is the duty of a State, so far as human means are concerned, the heathen nations must continue to die in their sins, and, on the Bishop of Newcastle's Denominational School system, are justifiable in upholding their particular tenets in a ratio equivalent to the sectarian division of their respective communities.

There is, indeed, one way of considering the subject which may perhaps console Denominationalists; they may wish to be on good terms with each sect in order to make sure of

a friend at court, whatever sect may obtain predominance, in the same manner that we are told a sceptic facetiously saluted a statute of Jupiter at Rome, about a hundred years ago, and said as he replaced his hat, "I hope your fallen majesty will remember me if ever your worship should come again into repute."

Principles, to be good, must be everywhere applicable. The advocates of National Education contend for Christianity as zealously as any one, and can at the same time conscientiously do what Denominationalists cannot, viz., they can recommend the formation of a sound Christian National School in any part of the Colony, even though not one family of the persuasion of any particular advocate of the National System may reside in such parish.

The very first village in New South Wales to which my duties called me, contained twenty-two Roman Catholic children, eleven Presbyterians, and none of any other persuasion.

Without any dereliction of principle I could, and did aid in the establishment of a small National School there; but on what principle could I as a member of the Church of England, advocate the formation of a Denominational School?

Personally I gained nothing by my exertions, for on my return, after visiting Port Phillip, I found that the teacher (who belonged to the Church of England, and had called on the Bishop of Sydney, with a view to request him to visit the school, if His Lordship could spare time in passing through the village,) had obtained information, as he said, by message from the Bishop, to the effect, that no Church of England person could possibly have anything to do with a National School, and His Lordship would not even look at it.

Such announcements are unpleasant to those who are not supported by conscientious convictions; but I am happy to say,

that the advancement of the school, during my tour in Port Phillip, had fully justified my labors, and had proved gratifying to the parents of the pupils. For the rest, I have as much right to say that the Bishops of Sydney and Newcastle belong to the Church of Rome, as they can have to say that I do not belong to the Church of England.

Thus, therefore, while the National System may be conscientiously established in any town or village in the country, the Denominational or Sectarian System must bide its time in some places, and thus neglect some of its dependents; must be mingled in competitive opposition in other places; and must, in all, pay nearly as much or more to oppose the principles of any one of its supporters, than it pays in aid of them.

This difficulty cannot be met by saying that each supporter of the Denominational System is answerable only for that portion of the system which fosters his own sect.* There are now two systems of public education in the colony—one National, one Denominational; the first combines its means so that, as far as State support is concerned, the benefit to all pupils in all schools is alike; the second divides its funds in the manner I have described. If its supporters cling to it with a knowledge of facts, they are fairly open to the charge of sacrificing their principles to an extent of fifty per cent. or more; if they cling to it in ignorance, I now commend the facts to their consideration.

Neither is it logical to assert, that each denomination is responsible in the matter only for the funds entrusted to its care; it can be called to account for no more money, certainly, but the money received by each denomination is given on special agreement to a certain distribution, to which the head of each denomination is a party. It is scarcely grateful in a

* Supposing, what cannot be in any wise proved, that it were possible to return to each taxpayer the precise amount he had contributed to the Treasury, it may well be asked why the public service should consist of a laborious collection of funds, which are only required in order that they may be returned whence they came.

grantee to say, "You are sinning in giving to others as you have given to me; but I wash my hands of it, and will oppose the other grantees, tooth and nail, with what you have now given to me." Yet this is the current of some person's notions who think by sectarian zeal to make amends for some portion of the heresies inculcated by the State. I call no one heretic, but the word implies that they who take up different forms of belief, are to one another neither more nor less than heretics.

Now as it is sinful to do any evil that good may come of it, so it is both sinful and foolish to do much evil in order that a little good may come of it;—to vote away to those who are called heretics more money than is received by the voter, who has no better defence for his vote than the fact that he gains a small sum of money by it.

Again, to apply the Denominational System fairly, there must be four schools in every village, otherwise some denomination would be defrauded of its claim for impartial treatment. Say there are seventy-five children at a place. If the Denominational System is to be carried out there, four schools, with a master and mistress for each, must be formed. Say that the miserable pittance of £75 be given to the teachers of each school, and we find the cost of salaries to the country is not less than £300 per annum.

Say the parents pay one shilling per week for each child, and take forty weeks attendance in the year as an average, and we find this cost to be £150, giving a cost of £450 for the education of seventy-five children.

Now place a National School in the village, and say that the Government salary is £150, that parents pay only sixpence per week for each child, £75, and thus we find £225 to be the cost of educating seventy-five children, and at the same time the Government pays only half as much to the National as to the Denominational School, the parents pay only half as much also, and the national teacher receives exactly twice

as much as the denominational; and on the principle that talent is commanded by means, may be expected to be twice as efficient.

This is not an overcharged case. I take up a Melbourne daily paper, and I find it stated (21st June, the *Argus*,) that in Portland the following Denominational Schools exist:—

	Scholars.	Teacher's Salary.
Church of England	20	£70
Church of Scotland	24	75
Wesleyans	20	40
Roman Catholics ...	14 or 20	30
	78 or 84	£215

From such premises may we not fairly argue, that however far the Denominational System may be extended, it cannot become comprehensive, and however minutely it may be divided, it can never be anywhere applicable?

Let me also ask how any well-digested scheme of inspection can be carried on in Denominational Schools? There is nothing more strenuously asserted than that the Denominational Schools are par excellence religious, and successful in inculcating religious doctrines *usque ad unguem*. If this be the case, how can one inspector superintend the different schools? Is he supposed to change his religion as he crosses the threshold of each? or is it supposed that the religious teaching requires no supervision? In the one case the principles of the system go to the wall, in the other case the arguments by which it is vaunted of, are entirely given up.

There is a third supposition, namely, that there shall be an inspector for each denomination,—and this course would be consistent,—but as the Denominations now receiving aid can adduce no equitable lien upon the State support which is not equally the claim of every sect in the community, and as by this means four dozen sects may hereafter cry out with the horse-leech, "Give, give! we have as much right as four,

to distinct support,"—it becomes palpable that the schismatic indoctrination which would thus be engendered, and the waste of means which would thus become notorious, would be too much for the elasticity of any conscience, or of any purse; *then*, when too late, all would cry out for a national and comprehensive system.

Observe also with how much better grace the demands of the Nationalist come forward; he advocates for each member of the community equal State benefits; he does not stipulate for fish for himself, and serpents for others, but wholesome meat for all; and the *charity* of this procedure I should think needs no comment. On the other hand, a Denominationalist stands in the predicament of accepting stipulations which condemn the majority of the community to learn what he calls error, in order to enable a minority of them to learn what he calls truth.* The charity of this proceeding, I should imagine, needs no condemnation, and it shall receive none from me. I am content with stating the case as it stands.

To give hard names is easy, but it proves nothing; and if the zeal of the Bishop of Newcastle had not been allowed to run away *from* his premises, and *with* his judgment, he would have reflected, before publishing his address to the Legislative Council in New South Wales, that in charging men of high character with deceit, he was pursuing a dangerous line of tactics; had *he* been an old resident, and had the members of the National Board been new comers, his imputations, though unfounded, might have gained credence; but when the reverse was the fact, when *he* was the compa-

* Omnino, qui reipublicæ præfuturi sunt, duo Platonis præcepta teneant: unum, ut utilitatem civium sic tueantur, ut quæcunque agunt, ad eam referent, obliti commodorum suorum: alterum, ut totum corpus reipublicæ curent; ne dum partem aliquam tuentur, reliquas deserant: ut enim tutela, sic procuratio reipublicæ ad utilitatem eorum qui commissi sunt, non ad eorum quibus, commissa est gerenda est: qui autem parti civium consulunt, partem negligunt, rem pernocissimam in civitatem inducunt, seditionem atque discordiam; ex quo evenit, ut alii populares, alii studiosi optimi cujusque videantur, pauci universorum.—CICERO.

ratively unknown, and when he charged with dishonest statements, residents whose characters were built upon the reputation of years of public life, it was indeed unwise of him to imagine that his unfortified scandal could whisper away suddenly what had been so maturely established.* To his pamphlet, however, I shall have something to say hereafter. Meantime I may here remark, that it is a sign of a weak cause which is exhibited by those who, not content with hoisting an opposing standard, would fain misrepresent the colours of their adversaries.

Thus, one stale outcry made by a few persons, is, that the National system is irreligious, and its advocates are consequently accused of infidel tendencies. One person, a clergyman, assured me that he had been warned against an agent of the National System as a subtle disciple of Voltaire; and on meeting him, confessed that in that instance his confidence had been abused.

Now, Nationalists have no need thus to misrepresent their opponents; we sincerely believe, that our cause can be supported by facts, and we would avoid the absurdity of imputing to our adversaries motives which they themselves disown.

We point to Her Majesty the Queen,† to the present Earl of Derby, who founded our system in Ireland, to the late Sir Robert Peel, who supported it, to the Archbishop of Dublin, to the late Dr. Murray, to the lamented Arnold, to the Duke of Wellington—*venerabile nomen*,—and a host of revered names which prove beyond doubt that, if worth or virtue be a test, the National System need never blush for the character of its leading supporters.

Before concluding this chapter, I am induced to throw

* It is almost unnecessary to remark, that in alluding to a scholar like the Bishop of Newcastle, I use the word "scandal" according to its etymology.

† In 1849 the Queen and Prince Albert visited the Model School in Dublin, and were much pleased with it. To express her entire approbation, Her Majesty accepted a set of the school books for the use of the Royal Family.

together a few remarks which, it may be imagined, would be elicited by the Denominational system, if made the subject of communication between a traveller from China and his friend at home. Let us suppose our friend to be desirous of knowing the educational status of a colony like New South Wales; and in order to preserve the unities of time and place, let us suppose that in one evening he could be fortunate enough to listen to four Denominational Lectures before hearing the arguments of the friends of the people at large. We may imagine that he would thus address his friend:—

Most wise and distinguished personage! I shall attempt, on this occasion of using the sublime implements of literature, to convey to you a description of a most surprising entertainment, which my unlettered imagination has lately enjoyed.

I have previously informed you, that this wonderful English people carries individual enterprise to astonishing instances of success; and I have told you, that the great and numerous deeds of the nation of which this colony is an offshoot, have sprung chiefly from the unlimited exercise of intellect and will, by each member of the state, provided that he conformed to certain general rules of social duty. The intense desire of excellence, which this form of government is calculated to foster, is continually producing marvellous results; no sooner has one ingenious person discovered any improvement, than a second person devises an additional amendment; this again is subjected to the scrutiny of millions of other persons, and thus by gradual elimination of all that is needless, and by securing all that is necessary, that microscopic accuracy is obtained, which in ironmongery, watches, fireships, and musical boxes (especially those which master the melody of the "sin fah"), we have repeatedly admired at the towns to which the condescension of the brother of the Sun has admitted the barbarian visits.

Much as we may object to the turmoil induced by this

incessant operation of untrammelled intellect, in all the novelties which a base commercial people purvey and indulge in, I cannot but confess, that the scope of our sway would have been far more extended, and the repulsion of barbarism from our shores would have been probably more complete and comprehensive, if a similar spirit had prevailed amongst the Chinese. If in China any improvement is discovered, its celebrity is confined to a small circle, and its duration or perfection becomes precarious; whereas, if the whole empire were put in possession of the discovery, it would be immortal if complete, and if incomplete, would immediately be perfected.

I am aware that the natural genius of our people is such that we now excel all other nations; and, in fact, I find that the barbarians chiefly pride themselves on such discoveries as printing, gunpowder, the compass, and various methods of cultivation and husbandry, which were used by us when the Europeans ran monkey-like, wild, in the woods; nevertheless, it seems to me that if we had encouraged the extension of the doctrines of Confucius amongst the barbarians, we might have thus effected a manifold good; viz. the propagation of the divine opinions of Confucius, the extinction of barbarian belief, and an universal appearance of the pig-tail ornament.

In the instance which I have now to relate to you, you will see that our institutions exceedingly surpass those which have been allowed to encumber the barbarian intellect. You know how thoroughly the tutors we employ, devote their attention to the sacred task of teaching our children to write; how the children trace, in their youth, the wisdom of the learned; and gradually acquire knowledge, like a tender bud which ought to have time to open, after which the flower discloses itself and becomes fully blown.

For what is the consequence of a want of instruction? How does an unlearned person differ from a mere brute?

In the case of women, those who are unlearned will endeavour to adorn their heads, to paint artfully, to render their attire and shoes as agreeable as possible, to place skilfully their bodkins, and in short, to set off their beauty by a ridiculous combination of all kind of ornaments; and it is necessary, therefore, to put into their hands books of instruction, to furnish their minds with the best maxims, and form their hearts after the greatest examples.

In the case of a son, the need of instruction is still greater; if the child be foolish of what avail is it, that at his birth, hen and ducks' eggs were boiled, that flowered paper was burnt before the Lord of Heaven, and that quantities of sugar-cakes were distributed?

My friend, we cannot commence to educate too soon, especially after the mind begins to open; if by chance anything presents itself which has life or motion, though it be but a contemptible insect, a shrub, or plant of little use, we must warn our son not to do it injury, by which means we shall cultivate his natural good qualities; nor must we confine his learning to books; we must let him become acquainted with the world, lest he say with the simpleton at sight of a pig in the street, "Of what an enormous size is that rat!" An example which shows that a man may be a very fool with much learning.

To neglect polite studies, would be, nevertheless, atrocious; for what says the sage? "If the discourse fall upon learning, an ignorant person will be seen to smile affectedly, making a pretence of comprehending what is spoken, but at the bottom he will be as if he sat upon needles."

But lest your curiosity should accuse my delay, let me hasten to tell what I have this day seen.

Being told that one of the priests was about to make an oration on the subject of the studies of youth, I went immediately with my friend Jones to hear it; the building was commodious enough, but required decoration and colouring;

the audience was attentive, and the speaker was a demure person with an appearance much meeker than his language.

He urged the people to join unanimously in his designs, the necessity for which adjuration I could not comprehend; for what reasoning being can be averse to learning? My friend, however, informed me that several rival sects exist, and that the lecturer was inspired by the zeal of opposition, as well as by the love of his own opinion; and this indeed I might have guessed from the warmth of his manner; he did not hesitate to declare, that those who disagreed with him would infallibly fall into the dominion Yen Vang (the demon of hell.) Hereupon I asked my friend how it came to pass that if there were divers sects in the country, the care of education was entrusted to one of them; since the speaker alluded to a grant of money, from the State, of which he seemed to have the administration. Surely he must have deceived the mandarins at court, or they would not have afforded such opportunity to so violent and unforgiving a nature; if they have overlooked his intemperance, what an example have they set him of a charity he scarcely appreciates!

"I perceive," said my friend, "you are ignorant of our institutions; this man is only the bishop of one sect, and administers its funds; he meddles with others only to abuse them." Your institutions are bad, I replied; for what says Confucius? "Harmony is above all things pleasing and conducive to happiness;" if a state be thus divided, how can it prosper? why deprive others of assistance, merely to support this man? "You are mistaken again," quoth he; "the Bishop says he is charitable enough to all people who will obey him, and it is their own fault if, knowing this, they differ from him. Besides, the State gives money to the others as well as to him."

At these words, Hao—tsive, I could scarcely restrain my temptation to be so rude as to laugh immoderately; that a

barbarian nation might be ignorant of the truth I could expect; but that it should visit its ignorance upon the innocent young, by inculcating contradictions, seemed to me so exquisitely absurd, that I was obliged to take snuff in order to conceal my confusion. No wall of deceit can justify our false dealings before the Lord of Heaven, but a flimsy veil suffices to screen our vices from ourselves.

I was tempted to ask my friend whether he thought the Bishop had forgotten that the eye of the Lord of Heaven could scan all the schools of the nation, when the Bishop himself adjured the Deity to the confirmation of the following harangue.

'I am entitled by a chain of succession which has reached me through a series of nearly 2000 years, and which yet came not to me by lineage, to command you to send your children to me, and to no one else. Under pain of eternal condemnation you are bound to obey me, and to think everything foolish which I pronounce to be so.* If I am unable to teach a few of your children, you must teach them nothing; better they had never been born than that they should learn anything in a National School.

I know that the managers of National Schools say that there is much religion taught in them; but I know better,—and though to you it may seem paradoxical, yet, though there is a great deal of the doctrine of the Christian religion in the National School Books, there is nothing good in those books; the Bible, or any part of it, being good in a Denominational School, becomes not good in a National School.

* The following passage from a celebrated Bull, "Unam Sanctam," will repay perusal, and will shew that my lecturer has drawn from authentic sources:—

"Uterque est in potestate ecclesiæ, spiritalis scilicet gladius et materialis. Sed is quidem pro ecclesia, ille vero ab ecclesia exercendus; ille sacerdotis, is manu regum ac militum, sed ad nutum et patientiam sacerdotis.

"Oportet autem gladium esse sub gladio, et temporalem auctoritatem spiritali subjici potestati. Porro subesse Romano pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus et pronunciamus omni esse de necessitate fidei."—EXTRAVAGANT, lib. i. tit. viii. c. 1.

This you are bound to believe, though you do not understand it.

As for the arguments that National Schools are better and cheaper than ours, I will prove them also to be unfounded just as easily; it is true that, generally speaking, the wages of four men are greater than the salary of one man, but in this case it is not so, and I am ready to prove by a new system of logic which I have lately invented, that, in this case, four people require less payment than one; and I shall hang, draw, and quarter all my opponents, and the children too, if necessary, in proof of my assertion.*

I am aware that I once predicted that no Scripture extracts would ever be used in National Schools, and I am aware that they are now used in them; but still I am, and was right; I am far from being pleased to find that they are so used, though I once spoke as if it would be only too good to be true, to find them thus used; it would not suit my style of argument to admit myself to have been once wrong (lest I should be thought wrong again,) therefore instead of confessing myself wrong, I abuse those by whose Christian feelings I am placed in my present predicament.† I am

* If, however, we add in another column the time each school is in operation, and calculate how many children are educated for the whole year by considering a child educated for nine months, three quarters of a child educated for the whole year, and one educated for six months only half a child, &c., then a true and correct result is obtained.—Bishop of Newcastle's Pamphlet, 1851.

† Printed Speech of Henry, Lord Bishop of Exeter.—"When I ventured on that prediction with the falsehood of which the noble and learned lord reproaches me, I did what he called on your Lordships to do. I believed the declaration of a Roman Catholic Archbishop, made upon his oath. In doing so I own that I was wrong; I own that I have justly subjected myself to the taunt of the noble and learned lord, and I promise him that I never again will offend in like manner. But true it is, my lords, that I said in 1832, that no Scripture extracts could be agreed upon by the different members of the Board. I said this because I was sure that the Protestant Commissioners could not consent wholly to abandon the Protestant version of the Scriptures, and to adopt the Douay in its place. On the other hand I believed that the Roman Catholic Commissioners would admit of nothing but the Douay version; therefore I said that no Scripture extracts could be agreed upon. I believed this, and ventured to predict it accordingly, because I knew (I forget whether I then stated such to be the ground of my belief,) that Dr. Murray had so sworn before the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry in the year 1824. He was asked, 'Supposing that portions of Scripture should be extracted in the words

aware that Nationalists say that they have no sordid object to accomplish, no factious purpose to serve, no bigoted passion to gratify; that they are endeavouring to give a new stamp to the rising generation of the country,—to bring children of all denominations together, from their infancy, in feelings of charity and good will,—to make them regard each other, not as belonging to rival sects, but as subjects of the same sovereign, and fellows in the same redemption; so that all who profess and call themselves Christians, may be led into the way of truth, and may hold the faith "in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life:" but I am prepared to prove by my usual logic, that the unity

of the Protestant version, for instance, would there be any objection to this being used equally by Protestant and Roman Catholic children?' Dr. Murray's answer upon his oath was, 'I think that if any words attributed to our Saviour were given under any other form than that which is set down in the Douay version, an objection would lie against it. As to extracts, if they are given as Scripture, it must be remembered that we have all along said we could not propose to the children anything as Scripture except what is taken from our version.'" So far says the Bishop of Exeter. Let us now hear what the National Board in Ireland said in reply. (9th Report.) "The author does not quote faithfully. What he gives as Dr. Murray's sworn answer to a particular question is made up of an answer to one question, and of part of an answer to another. We give extracts from which it will be seen that Dr. Murray did not object to a compilation from Scripture which should be conformable both to the Protestant authorized and Roman Catholic versions. Besides, after the examination had taken place, a work composed entirely of selections from the Protestant authorized version was sent to him by the Commissioners, and he returned it with the following letter to the Chairman:—

'My dear Sir,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th instant, which, owing to my absence from town, only reached me this morning. As the work which you have had the goodness to send me is a compilation taken exclusively and verbatim from the Protestant version of the New Testament, I think it would be open to the objections already stated by the (Roman) Catholic Bishops to the Commissioners with reference to a similar work. Allow me however to observe, that these objections might in my opinion be removed, if the matter of the work were abstracted both from the (Roman) Catholic and Protestant versions where they substantially agree, without the words being taken throughout literatim from either, according to the principles explained by us to the Commissioners, when last we had the honor of an interview with them.

(Signed) '† J. MURRAY.

'To Thomas Frankland Lewis, Esq.'"

Dr. Murray was absent from Ireland when his colleagues thus defended him. The charitable disposition of so good a man was not likely to desert him in consequence of the strictures of the Bishop of Exeter; and for many years the late Roman Catholic (Dr. Murray is now dead) and the present Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, continued with pious assiduity to "temper the wind to the shorn lamb," and to earn the enduring gratitude of a nation.

implied by the Gospel really means dissension and sectarianism, because without such proof I should not be able to justify the Denominational System on religious principles; therefore though I know well enough what Nationalists mean by saying that religious and Christian instruction is contained in their school-books, and though I know that Whately and Arnold always supported the National System on the ground of the Christian essence of it, I am, nevertheless, determined to deny that essence, because as I know that all ecclesiastics since the fourth century have been unable to define the exact boundaries of religion, I am in hopes that if I can set my adversaries upon attempting such a definition, I shall find them wanting in their means of persuasion, even as I and my brethren have always been, in spite of our apostolical succession.

Knowing, therefore, the difficulties in proving the bounds of belief, I am not such a fool as to be charitable enough to allow my common sense to confess (as indeed I know well enough) that the teaching in a National School may very well be as religious as in a Denominational one. What most annoys me is, that so many men who have the reputation of being pious and good are against me, for I find it very difficult to impute irreligious motives to them; viz., though I make the imputation, I cannot cause it to be believed.

Again, I know very well that in Denominational Schools we have had to adopt the National school practice in some things; i. e., we do not insist upon any set course of religious instruction (indeed behind the scenes we wink at two sorts); for, if we were to do so, we should lose many scholars, which as we cannot afford to do, we are obliged to do what we abuse the Nationalists for doing. I am afraid we shall be found out at last, and that parents will say, "If you do not insist upon any particular course of doctrinal instruction, our children may as well go to a National School, where we can manage to make instruction cheaper than in yours in the

proportion of two to four, and pay the teacher more highly in proportion of two to one;" but until I am driven from all posts, I will persist in acting thus, not for the sake of the children, but of the schools.

Moreover, though I know that the charge we make against the mixed constitution of a National Board is untenable,—because though, as we allege, it deals with solemn questions, yet so does the Parliament, a body equally mixed,—I am still determined to make it, for I must use some charges, and as we no sooner make a charge than it is refuted, it is just as well to make an old one that we are used to, as to be troubled with finding a new one.

But my favorite cry, which is akin to the last alluded to, is the assertion that the use of the Bible is forbidden in a National School; to be sure there are some busy-bodies who enquire into details and find that the Bible was never yet read through in any Denominational School, and who consequently allege, with a show of truth, that as the whole of the Bible is not read in any school in the country, it is advisable that a selection of passages should be made by an authentic and learned body of divines and legislators rather than at the personal discretion of any one schoolmaster, or even of a curate on occasional visits; but I generally find I can obscure this fact, and as I said before, it is much safer to abuse the Nationalists for doing as we do, (though perhaps better than we,) than it would be to confess that we have been really compelled to act upon their abhorred principles.

There is no doubt that more children go uneducated where there is no National Education than where it exists; but I cannot afford to give up presumed privileges for the sake of a few of the ὁι πολλοι, and if a man would not be educated as I might choose for him, I would not educate him at all.*

* Evidence of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Australia, (now Bishop of Sydney,) in 1844:—

88. Suppose none could come to be taught in your fashion, would you therefore say that you would not teach at all? I would indeed.

94. But we must evidently come to some districts as we go to the outer parts of the

As for those who might have become pious and benevolent by means of the humanizing influence of religion and truth, it is hoped that they will be distinguished hereafter from those who would not have been favorably influenced, and I will paraphrase the sentiment of a certain predecessor of mine. "Sur le point de donner l'assaut, dans l'impuissance de distinguer les Catholiques d'avec les heretiques, ils demanderent, dit on, à l'abbé de Citeaux, legat du pape, le parti qu'il fallait prendre. Tuez les tous, respondit-il. Dieu connâit ceux qui sont a lui."

Better let all be uneducated than that my sayings and assaults should fail. Providence will look after the details, and on behalf of Providence I consider myself justifiable in the mean time, in excommunicating all who differ from me.*

circle where there will be twenty children of different creeds; are all those parts to be unprovided for? I would take no part in teaching them upon the terms now proposed, but I cannot say what the State might do.

95. Will your Lordship be kind enough to say what the State could do in this class of cases? The State may do anything in a pecuniary point of view, all I mean is, that it would be impossible for me, holding the opinion I do, to approve of a general system which excludes religion.

96. What is it your Lordship thinks the State could do, in order to ensure these children receiving some education? I would have the State to be the judge of that; I do not propose to take any part in the judgment, except as to what is essential in making a Christian.

113. Supposing a man to be two hundred miles from a Church? Then thinking, as I do that the teaching of the Church is necessary, he must be in a very embarrassing situation, to say the least.

* The following passage quoted from the "Edinburgh Review," (Jan. 1852,) will show that I have used no stronger language than is imputed by creditable prints to certain dignitaries of the Church of England:—

In the Communion Service, a clergyman at Torquay read the word condemnation in place of the word damnation, in a passage in which the word κριμα is rendered. The Bishop of Exeter (a hot opponent of the National System of Education,) who was in Church, broke rudely the stillness of the assembly by vociferating, with startling energy, DAMNATION!

A county magistrate, on hearing this anecdote, said, "Had I been present, I should have fined the Bishop five shillings for profane swearing, and should have desired the Churchwardens to prosecute him in his own Consistory Court, for brawling in Church."

The capital letters are borrowed from the "Review," and whether the Bishop's tone justified their use or not,—whether his Consistorial Court would or would not have convicted him of brawling, I believe it may be said that there was little astonishment in England, when in the case of the Bishop of Exeter versus Latimer, the defendant justified the application of the terms, "notorious brawler," and "careless perverter of facts" to His Lordship, and the jury found for the defendant.

Many persons are remarkable for possessing the foibles or vices which they

By this time my friend seemed rather tired of the lecture and led me out, asking me what I thought of the lecturer. Most illustrious European, I replied, I feel persuaded that if your worthy countryman had lived in the times of the Inquisition, he would gladly have heaped faggots on a dissentient, and would have afterwards ascribed to the Almighty the glory of the sacrifice.

We went thence to hear a Presbyterian divine, lecturing on the same subject; also to hear a Wesleyan minister, and in another building a Roman Catholic priest. What struck me most in the whole of the discourses, was the fact that each speaker appealed to the same sacred writings as confirmatory of his opinions, and yet not one of the four deduced the same conclusions from the same data.

"What!" cried I, "is it possible that these persons who cannot agree upon the construction to be put upon a given series of sentences, are so furious to obtain the mastery of the rising generation? Surely they will be found incompetent to give all other requisite teaching, while their energies

denounce in others; and the Bishop of Exeter thus happily describes the danger of shaking off the conventional restrictions of a society to which the "Shaker" may happen to belong. "When men of rank and education suffer themselves to partake of the blind and intemperate passions of the populace, they become popular themselves; and are sometimes more prominent than the rest in coarse and vulgar violence, because having burst the bands of conventional decorum, they have nothing left to restrain them."

Dr. Philpotts' position in the Church of England, certainly places him within such bands of conventional decorum as might prompt him to respect his metropolitan the Archbishop of Canterbury; yet Dr. Philpotts has lately excommunicated that Most Reverend Prelate.

In submitting this note and the accompanying text, I must explain why I have drawn principally on the fund of misguided invectives which have been furnished by members of my own Church. I have done so, lest by quoting from members of other churches I might lay myself open to the charge of that very sectarian partiality which I would deprecate;—those who have studied history will be aware that the unrelenting bigotry evinced by followers of the Church of England, is as the language of a sucking dove when compared with the developments of the associates of Torquemada; but a grievous wrong would be done to the common Christianity of the world, if the excesses of its misguided or malicious professors were held up as its necessary consequences.

The Oberlins, the Father Matthews, the Murrays, the Whatelys, the benevolent Howards of society may alike vindicate their faith from such erroneous imputations; and who will deny the claim of Mrs. Chisholm to rank amongst the benefactors of nations?

have to be devoted to the solution of these difficult questions which have now tortured Europe for more than fifteen centuries. How grateful ought we Chinese to be, in having escaped conversion to Christianity which at one time seemed imminent! Amongst these tutors, my illustrious English friend, your countrymen at large will never obtain education; while you dispute about the proper end at which to break an egg, lo! Time flies, and the egg becomes addled. Thus, while your teachers dispute about premises, many of those who should be scholars, grow into manhood nearly allied to brutality." "Softly," cried my friend, "I admit that much of what you say is very true, but our laws and customs do not admit of so arbitrary a change as you might wish to propose. Each of these good folks thinks himself right, therefore we must respect his prejudices; our institutions do not permit the forceful annihilation of any error of belief; we prefer to argue the matter until a majority of us have determined to support the truth. As you justly observe, where these four differ, all cannot be right; but three surely are wrong. Come with me."

We then proceeded to a large hall where we found a numerous assemblage, composed of many divines of the several persuasions already named, and multitudes of civilians: one person was addressing the meeting, and reasoned in favour of affording as much united instruction as the vast majority of the nation could consent to receive without doing violence to the opinions of any.

"This," said my friend, "is our mode of effecting changes; here you see the leading men of their age * banded together, not to abuse those who differ from them, but to bring about as much general agreement as society can cordially enter into. When they commenced their efforts, the subject had not

* Whately, Arnold, Sir Robert Peel, Earl of Derby, Earl of Carlisle, Webster, Story, Chalmers, Dr. Crolly, Dr. Murray, Dr. Doyle, John Stuart Mill, Carlyle, Lord Monteagle, Mr. Wyse, Dickens, Wordsworth, Locke, Bacon, and great names without number rush upon one's memory in proof of the text. I purposely abstain from introducing colonial names; but they also would support the case.

been generally considered, and the proposed change was not warmly received; but now it is gathering under its banners, accumulating millions; and it is confidently anticipated that ere long it will be made the policy of all governments whose professed object is the happiness of a people, rather than the aggrandisement of a family or race; and the opposing error will then be looked upon with the same indifference as is now accorded to those who refuse credit to the Copernican theory."

When I heard this, my beloved Liu-sze, I confess that I was ill at ease. I see clearly that this comprehensive scheme of Education, if embraced nationally by the energetic barbarians, cannot fail to raise them to an unprecedented height; and who knows that even yet the Christian faith may not be thrust upon our own vast empire? I fear, myself, that it would. At present, the obstacles which the foreign devils encounter in proselytizing amongst us, chiefly arise from the reflection that the barbarians themselves differ as to the nature of the principles they profess to teach; so that even a simple countryman perceives the incongruity of the religion of the Lord of Heaven on the one hand, and the Mother of God on the other; and thus no amount of wit is necessary to enable him to say to a barbarian, "Why do you come to teach me truth without agreeing with your own race first?"—But, if the foreign devils ever agree amongst themselves, or if they should meet upon such a basis of agreement and union as that of a broad inculcation of acknowledged truth,—I tremble for the result.

Meantime, my friend, let us hope that the demon of discord will distract their counsels, and that we may thus be enabled to retain in their despite, the doctrines of our beloved Cong-foo-tsee. Farewell.

CHAPTER XVI.

I PURPOSE in this chapter to give a summary of the arguments by which the National System has been assailed in this country, and to notice one attack made upon it by a sort of sidewind in Ireland, about the beginning of 1851.

On the eve of the consideration of the Educational vote for 1852, in New South Wales, the Bishop of Newcastle published a pamphlet animadverting upon the National System most bitterly, but at the same time unsuccessfully, and, I believe, unreasonably.

His argument was, in effect, this:—The system is bad, because the Third Report of the National Board is confused, incorrect, and deceptive; and, because, though its advocates call it economical, its schools are more costly than denominational schools.

I have no wish to weaken his Lordship's position, but it seems to me that I have described it fairly.

Now, how could any reasonable being expect the relative costliness of two systems to be determined? surely, not by a comparison of the actual cost of each, at a time when one had been in force for very many years, and the other only for three. Knowing that the National Board was organized only in 1848; knowing that a rival, and, under the Bishops of Newcastle and Sydney, a hostile board, had employed a widely-spread and industrious machinery to counteract the

efforts of the National Board; and knowing that in the success of the National Board there would be found the sure element of destruction of its uncharitable enemy, we might indeed expect a spirit of party, or a turn for sneering, to "hint a fault, or hesitate dislike;" but we never could prepare ourselves for the line of argument, if it be argument, contained in the Bishop of Newcastle's short pamphlet, which was announced in an "*ore rotundo*" manner to the Council in Sydney, as though it were to prove a writing on the wall, all-powerful to arrest the current of legislation, and address itself instantaneously to the convictions of mankind. But so it was;—the condemnation of a system of Education, was found to consist of animadversions on three persons:—foreign examples, innate principles, individual instances of success, or logical deductions of consequences; all were to be nipped in the bud, and their existence to be ignored:

> "Sed quo cecidit sub crimine? quisnam
> Delator? quibus indiciis? quo teste probavit?—
> Nil horum: verbosa et grandis epistola venit
> A Capreis."

If the Bishop wished to compare a Denominational and a National system, why did he not take the cases of countries in which each had been established, one system in one country, the other system in the other? I will furnish him with such cases.

A Legislative Council Committee, in New South Wales, stated that out of 25,676 children (between four and fourteen years old) in the colony in 1843, only 7,642 received education aided by the State; that 4,865 received private instruction; and that 13,169 were supposed to be wholly untaught. Moreover, the cost of Public Education was about £1 per head, which the Committee called "an enormous rate after every allowance has been made."

Now in those days there was no National School com-

petition. Turning to the "Western World," as described by Alexander Mackay, Esq., I find that out of 601,766 children (between five and sixteen years of age) in the State of New York in 1843, 571,130 attended schools connected with the State, and supported on National principles; and the whole amount paid by the State was only 456,970 dollars, or at the rate of about 3s. 4d. per head. And in those days there was no Denominational School rivalry; though there were very many private schools, and academies.

So far as concerns a comparison of the relative cost of a sectarian system and a general system, any one who has read his Lordship's pamphlet will at once perceive that his reasoning is about as apposite as if, in a discussion on the temperature at Nova Zembla, he had blandly announced that frosts were unknown at Timbuctoo.

The Bishop's allegation,—against the National System,—that the Report of the Board is, in his opinion, *confused*, *incorrect*, and *deceptive*, is palpably no argument against the system itself, but an onslaught upon its conductors. This is a matter of detail; if the Board have erred, let them be complained of in due form; but, meantime, to rail at them as his Lordship has done, is as much as to say that, because one policeman is inefficient and open to bribery, therefore there ought to be no constabulary.

I perceive that the Board were defended in the Legislative Council, by their learned chairman, the Attorney-General; and that the Council resolved to increase the trust reposed in the Board, who can therefore well afford as Mr. Donaldson remarked, to prosecute their labours "without any fear of such writers as the Bishop of Newcastle."

His Lordship introduced in his pamphlet some adroit but erroneous aspersions, upon the manner in which the head master of the Model National School, had enlisted himself in the National cause: as that gentleman speedily righted himself by means of a letter which was read in the Council by

the Attorney-General, I shall add nothing on this head; but there is one passage, in the Bishop's pamphlet, with respect to a school in the Hunter River District, to which I feel bound to advert.

"Should any errors be found to exist in this table, arising from erroneous data, I cannot blame myself. I asked for accurate information from the resident Patron of Dunmore National School (a school which is returned as having 101 children in average attendance), and my messenger brought back the answer, 'That the school had *ceased to exist*, was *shut up*, and the registers had been sent to Sydney.' I then applied, through one of my clergy, to the Secretary of the National Board, and when he declined to allow a few figures to be copied from the school registers, application was made to the Honourable the Attorney-General, but all in vain. I will make no comment on these refusals, but conclude with recalling to your minds the facts which I have proved."

To the above statement the Attorney-General replied in his place in Council (27th November, 1851), by explaining that a clergyman called at the School Office in Sydney, stating "that he required some information for the Bishop of Newcastle, that the Secretary asked if he had any letter from the Bishop, making a formal application to the Board. He said he had not, and the Secretary very properly declined to furnish the information without an order from the Board; and referred the clergyman to him (the Attorney-General), as President of the Board. The clergyman, in company with Mr. Cowper, called upon him, and Mr. Cowper acted as spokesman; he said he wanted some returns for the Bishop of Newcastle. He (the Attorney-General) said it was somewhat strange to come to him, who was but a single member of the Board, to make such an application; that it was a very cavalier sort of proceeding, as the Board which was a Corporation, ought in common courtesy to have been applied to in a formal manner, even though the applicant was the Bishop of

Newcastle. This was the only way in which information had been refused to the Bishop; and this he could have obtained had he applied for it in a formal and courteous manner. The Bishop had been invited to visit the school, but neither he nor his clergy had ever done so. The school was four miles from the Bishop's residence."

When I read the Attorney-General's speech, and when I read the Bishop's pamphlet, I confess that the apparent disagreement surprised me; and being determined to take up the cudgels for the National System, if no other person would save me the trouble, I wrote a note to the resident patron alluded to so pointedly by the Bishop. As Inspector of National Schools, I had frequently met the patron in question, and I had no reason to imagine that the courtesy he always showed to so humble a person as myself, would be withheld from so exalted a prelate as the Bishop of the Diocese.

The following is the answer I received :—

"My dear Sir,—Your letter of the 30th, I duly received, and am glad that you are going to answer the Bishop's pamphlet. I have read it, and was astonished at some of his assertions.

"The answer to the question you ask about the Dunmore School, is simply this: the Bishop's schoolmaster at ———, came over to me one morning, and said that the Bishop had sent him for a copy of the returns of the Dunmore School. I felt annoyed that the Bishop should have sent such a message, and more so, by such a messenger, and said to —— 'What does the Bishop want with the returns of the Dunmore School?—tell him they have been sent to Sydney, and he can apply for them at the Board.' That was all that passed; there was nothing said about the Register, and what the Bishop says about the school ceasing to exist is untrue. Mr. ——— was removed, and another teacher got in his place; in the interval the school was closed for a short time,

and this the Bishop's messenger knew right well, and perhaps might not have told him the whole truth. We have now got another teacher, and a flourishing school, which ——— can attest, as a good many of the children have been taken from his school and sent to the Dunmore School.

"I am, &c.

(Signed) "ANDREW LANG.

"G. W. Rusden, Esq."

In return for the Bishop's courtesy, I will make no comment on the facts thus placed before the reader.

His Lordship, wisely in his own generation, thus attacks the mode of administrating the funds entrusted to the National Board.

"Therefore, if this money had been entrusted to the Denominational Board, and the rule of that Board had been followed, of expending one-tenth of the grant in salaries (*sic in orig.*), and one-tenth in books and apparatus, the sum expended by the Denominational Board in the province of Victoria, would have been £113 2s. 4d. *plus* $\frac{1}{9}$ £113 2s. 4d. = £1[redacted] 13s. 8¼d. Yes! £125 13s. 8¼d. instead of £2,240 5s. 5¼d. would have been thus expended; *but then*, the Denominational Board would not have made the children in the unsettled districts of the Province of Victoria, pay three-tenths of the expense of printing a *puffing pamphlet*, or three-tenths of the expense of a *Morning Newspaper* for the office of the National Board, at Sydney."

And not once only does the wastefulness or curiosity of the Board excite his pious indignation; again he rises to the task of condemnation in the following nervous language:—

"Will it be allowed that the public money should be expended to furnish the Secretary and the members of the Board, the amusement of a Morning Newspaper?" (I fear some of the Bishop's pith is here lost, by his forgetting to use italics, as in the other sentence.) "Are any terms too

strong to express the indignation which must be felt at finding such an item of expenditure in the accounts of the Board of National Education? Will not some member of the Legislative Council, take measures that these sums may be refunded for the public service?"

"Tantæne animis cælestibus iræ?"

Will it be believed that the reading of the above sentences only produced shouts of laughter,—that no one cried out with Corny Delany, "The haythens! the Turks!"—that an effort so vast on a subject so little, was allowed to evaporate into thin air, or to meet an ineffectual response from one or two members of a minority? Yet so saith the record of the respectable paper whose presence amid the National Board called down the condemnation I have quoted.

But to speak seriously, it is most strange that the Bishop should not have perceived that his charges against a system of education are all resolvable into attacks upon a few individuals, for the malversation of funds. His Lordship says, that the representations made by the Board as to the number of children in their schools is *deceptive;* and after giving a number of small calculations as to what he supposes to be Rule of Three proofs that he knows the business of the Board better than they know it themselves, he adds, "All these errors, tending as they do to the same object, to exaggerate the number of children in actual daily attendance, and thus diminish the actual cost of each child's education, prove irresistibly not only the utter absence of clearness and correctness, but also of fairness, and must substantiate to every candid mind the charges of confusion, error, and deception in this Appendix 1, p. 41, and the whole Report."

"These be bitter words," to address to a Legislative Council with respect to a Board composed of the Speaker, the Attorney-General, and their coadjutor, an old and respected colonist; and if such words can neither be established nor excused, I trust it will be manifest that His Lordship is

in the predicament of the juryman who complained gravely to his wife that he had been shut up with eleven stupid jurors, who were open to reason of no sort or kind.

Whether the Council or the Bishop proved impenetrable to conviction may be judged from the following quotations. The Bishop says, "I will not dwell again upon the statement in the Report itself, that the average attendance at Fort-street is now five hundred and twenty-three, whereas, the real average attendance is only two hundred and eighty-four." Again, "It is made a matter of congratulation in the Report, that when the new school in William-street was opened, as many as two hundred and eighty-two children flocked to it. Now certainly the children that flock to a school at its opening, must be the number on the books, and not the number in average attendance. Taking therefore from the Model School the ratio between the number on the books and in average attendance, the number of 282 must be reduced to $\frac{13}{24}$ 282=156 nearly. A second case where the numbers put down in average attendance prove to be the numbers on the books."

As though an official assignee were to say to the unfortunate baker of an insolvent, "My good man I see you charge for thirty loaves in June, and as my client really could not want so much bread then, I must do a little bit of the unjust steward, and call it ten; and as you charge for forty-five loaves in December, it is quite fair to cut you down to fifteen by the same rule. Be off with your money."

But the Legislative Council would not accept His Lordship's small change; within a day or two of the publication of his statement, a Member of Council rose in his place, and read from an irreverent return the fact that at the Model School the average attendance during the past week had been 410, and at the William-street School 377; thus showing a total of 787 at the two schools, or 347 more than the number which His Lordship's new method of managing other

people's business by his own arithmetic had proved to be possible, or (to use the language of Escobar,) *probable.*

Now if the Bishop of Newcastle's figures were wrong, what was his pamphlet worth? This is a simple sum, which any one will solve for him.

In the 14th page of his pamphlet, the Bishop says, "The common argument used to parents, to induce them to favor the National System, has been that no one need pay more than a penny."

I should like to know upon what data His Lordship founds this assertion. I believe that I have myself used many arguments, and in many places, as indeed it was my duty to use them; but I am not aware of having used the one he quotes. Fortunately for my corroboration, I find that in a printed report of a speech which I made on the subject in November, 1849, the following remarks appear:—

"The patrons will have the privilege of recommending a teacher to the Board in whom the appointment is vested; and if they can recommend any person, much time and expense will be avoided. They will fix the fees,—ranging from one penny to one shilling per week, which scale has been fixed by the Board.

"I do not know that the lowest payment of one penny would be often required to be made use of, but it is as well that you should know that in case of sickness or other causes depriving a parent of the means of paying more, the patrons have the power of fixing the fee at one penny per week, which I see makes you smile; and considering that hitherto you have been totally without a school, I do not wonder at your noticing the contrast between no school at all, and the possible advantages of a national one." (*Geelong Advertiser* 22nd November, 1849.)

Ex uno disce omnes; such only are the arguments I was accustomed to use about the payment of a penny a week; and if the Bishop can torture them in his own mind to an

assertion that *no one need pay more*, I am not without hope that my humble sling will find favor where his sumptuous armoury is found wanting.

He himself cannot assume that his memory is worth anything as regards those arguments which I, as an accredited agent of the Board, was in the habit of using; because when I did myself the honor to call upon him at his Palace, as indeed it was my custom in my wanderings to call upon dignitaries of all churches (as a matter of respect which it was my duty to pay, especially to the head of my own Church,) his servant brought me the polite message that "His Lordship had no particular wish to see me;" and here, indeed, the efficacy of His Lordship's arguments is mightily mutilated by his own act, for if I had been honored with an interview (in which however I must acquit myself of having sought to do more than pay respect by calling on the head of my Church,) I might now have been in the dilemma of setting up my memory against that of His Lordship, whereas, under present circumstances, I can refer to the impartiality of a printed report.

> The Gods are just, and of our pleasant vices
> Make instruments to scourge us.

But, if such arguments were used in the Bishop's diocese, why did not he, personally, or by deputation, attend one of the many meetings held in his diocese for the purpose of considering the propriety of establishing National Schools? And why not then and thus oppose the system?

Every meeting which I attended in my official capacity was convened in such a manner as to invite discussion; and yet at more than forty meetings which I have attended in New South Wales, the conclusion arrived at by the public has been favourable to the establishment of National Schools. If fallacious arguments were used, why not oppose them? Let me add, that in no place to which I have alluded, was the establishment of a National School possible, except with

the concurrence of the people, and by aid of their subscriptions; these voluntary subscriptions to my knowledge exceeded £3,000 in the years 1849, 1850, 1851; of which fact if the Bishop of Sydney had been aware, or on which if he had reflected, he would not perhaps have recorded such damning evidence to his cause as may be deduced from the following words spoken by him at the diocesan meeting in Sydney, in January, 1851.

"While they saw structures rising everywhere for what it pleased them to call the National System, they got nothing from the same source for the erection of Denominational Schools. (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 11th January, 1851.)

Thus we find His Lordship's

> "Own reasons turn into his bosom,
> Like dogs upon their master, worrying him."

The National Schools, he says, are *rising everywhere*; he observes the process. Now they rise nowhere without consent of the people, (that consent being guaranteed in the metropolis, by the Legislature, and elsewhere by special meetings,) and by pecuniary aid from the people; and yet no aid can be got from the same source for the Church Schools!

If His Lordship cannot yet draw a satisfactory conclusion from these facts, I will not be uncharitable enough to lift the veil which obscures public opinion in his vision. As however His Lordship of Newcastle has ventured into the lists, in opposition to the public, I commend to him a particular tilt against his Metropolitan's naïve admission.

As for the economy of educational systems, when fairly tested, the Bishop of Newcastle will find, that I have already in this work submitted to his perusal, several instances by which he may compare National with Denominational outlay.

He will never be able to persuade the public that the comparative cost of the two systems in New South Wales can

with any justice be estimated by looking at the respective outlay of each in 1849, 1850, and 1851; (the National System having then been merely founded, and the other having been long in operation, and the Denominational School supporters being all the while engaged in a strenuous opposition to the new system). The Select Committee of Council did not say that *under such circumstances*, cheapness could be attained or hoped for; they recommended the abolition of the old system and the substitution of the new, as the only way to ensure cheapness and efficiency of public schools; and not until their recommendation shall have been acted upon, will it be competent for any person to institute an equitable comparison between the two systems.

Meantime, I will remind His Lordship, that the cost of Denominational Education in the colony in 1843, was about £1 per head, and that the cost of National Education in New York, in the same year, was about 3s. 4d. per head, and that in Ireland the National System educates at an outlay of less than 6s. per head.

His Lordship may rest assured, that the main arguments in favor of the National system, and the principal motives of its supporters arise from a belief, that it is calculated to promote Christian charity, unity, and truth, rather than to foster uncharitableness and strife; that it has never yet failed, when fairly tested, to justify the expectations of its supporters; and that, among many minor considerations, its supporters continue to be of opinion that to buy four dozen of any article, more money is required than to buy one; while at the same time that dozen can, very economically in the long run, be procured of the choicest material.

No Nationalist ever alleged that *any education would or could be cheap*, if four Sectarian Schools and one General School should be established; this mode of proceeding only brings in a fifth dozen of the article, and though it may be better than any of the other four, it does not remedy their

defects more than a sick man would secure his health, if having employed four indifferent physicians, he should on finding a better, persist in taking the doses of all five, rather than confine himself to the nostrum of the fifth.

Having thus far answered all His Lordship's arguments which seem worth notice, let me now quote the following passage, which implies that he relishes a joke, and for which it will go hard with my materials if I cannot find a Roland for an Oliver.

Speaking of the Report of the Board of National Education, he says, "Is not this most delightful confusion? This attempt at concealment and mystification, I have, however, with some labor and care endeavored to remedy, and by looking through," &c., &c.

When the subject of Education was under discussion in the Legislative Council of New South Wales, in 1851, mention was made of a certain teacher whom the Bishop thus describes in a letter read by Mr. Cowper to the Council, on the 2nd of December of that year.

"He was not a member of our Church, was an exile, and of bad character."

It appeared that a Church of England School at Clifton, (divided by a road only from a property called Woodville) had been shut up in April 1851, there being a National School at Woodville. Still more removed from the National School was a private school kept by the man in question, and as the Church of England School was between the two other institutions, it sank under the influence of their separate spheres of operation.

"About twenty of the parents of the children who live in the immediate neighbourhood," writes the Bishop to Mr. Cowper, "came over to me in a body, and asked whether I intended to appoint another master. I said no. They then asked whether a person who had been teaching their children in a mere hut, about a mile and a-half from the school-

building, might not be appointed. I answered, decidedly not; he was a bad man," &c.

I need not add how the parents wept at His Lordship's resolution, how His Lordship gradually relented, how he consented to yield to a request that the man might use the Church School, but not as a Church Teacher, how it was the common rumour that this consent had in view a holy opposition by humble instruments, of the National School over the way; how it was rumoured, moreover, that this remarkable expounder of Gospel truth to Denominational children, taught all required Catechisms to any requiring children; how these rumours gathered such strength that a Report was sent in to the National Board, stating that this teacher, "sui generis," was so drunken, that the school was often temporarily closed; (*vide* Attorney-General's speech, 27th Nov. 1851, in New South Wales Council,) how not even all these rumours could shake the confidence of a certain class of parents, and a certain Bishop of Newcastle; how the Bishop, good man, never heard these rumours, he being at first on the South Sea scheme of evangelization, and, on his return none venturing to tell him of the reputation of the school; and how, finally, His Lordship was so unwitting of the above rumours as to write, "Be it known that this exile, so addicted formerly to drunkenness, has succeeded without the slightest money assistance or countenance from the Church,*

* But in the same letter from which the text is quoted, his Lordship says, "On my return from my missionary voyage, one of the first questions I asked the clergyman having the care of that district was this: Is the schoolroom at Clifton occupied or not? Have you known any case of drunkenness in the master? And if so, have you followed my directions, deprived him of the room and closed it?"

Surely to withhold the exercise of a power of deprivation, is to give some sort of countenance in the ordinary acceptation of the word.

Let me also add, that when leaving the Northern district in 1851, I posted a letter to the clergyman alluded to, informing him that many scandalous reports were rife about the school in question, (of which he seems to have had the anomalous charge which is independent of countenance); and stating that for the sake of our common Church, and because he himself was personally known to me, I thought it my duty to call his attention to them. It appears that my letter must have miscarried. My obvious reason for not requesting an inquiry, while I was in the district, was the fact that, had I done so, my motives would have been open to misconstruction; as it might

in beating out of the field a National School, with a salary of £40 for the master; for the National School at Woodville is now closed, and has ceased to exist. This is the sore point, and has, doubtless, led to the false statement."

Alas! that I must shake His Lordship's confidence! That I must prove to him that it was only by a mixture, of the desire on the part of the National Board to secure moral and Christian teachers, and of accidents to correspondence addressed to a person engaged in an itinerating pursuit, that it so fell out that the parents in question were prevented from obtaining, *as they wished*, a National School. In the Bishop's language, is not this a delightful contretemps?

Fortunately, I have letters to prove it, and they constitute too good a joke to be withheld from a person whose delight is obtained from confusion.

Early in 1850, the person in question wrote to me to ask how he could obtain an appointment as teacher in a National School.

I had heard of his reputation, and merely wrote to tell him that teachers' appointments were not in my gift, nor even subject to my recommendation, but I enclosed to him lists of the names of local patrons at various places in the district, together with a copy of the school regulations.

Within a few days of my having done this, I started for Moreton Bay, and it was not until 1851, that I returned to

have been imagined, that I was prompted more by zeal for the adjacent National School, than by the reasons I have already alluded to. I therefore wrote, not stating that I believed the reports, but mentioning that they were current, and I purposely posted my letter when I was *en route* from the Hunter River District to Sydney, overland.

The residents at and near the locality of the school in question, must have joined Mr. Lang in his astonishment at the Bishop's assertions, (vide the letter already quoted in the text), but at none more than at the one about the state of the Clifton School, and the countenance afforded to it.

As regards the insinuation that a "sore point led to a false statement," I may add, that a Member of Council explained, that though one master had been removed from Woodville, another was to be placed there, and that it was not the fact that the School had ceased to exist.

"Falsúm honor juvat, et mendax infamia terret
Quem nisi mendosum et mendacem? * *
* * Tu, dum tua navis in alto est,
Hoc age, ne mutata retrorsum te ferat aura."

the district and casually received two letters which had been addressed to me in April and June, 1850, the first by the teacher alluded to, and the second by the parents of his scholars. They may have ascribed my silence to neglect; and in absence of means of information as to the mode in which they should have addressed the National Board direct, (here I may remark that this is a difficulty which nothing but the intrinsic excellence of the National System has enabled it to overcome so generally as it has succeeded in doing,) it appears that these parents, who addressed the Bishop with tears in their eyes, and this teacher, who if he was similarly affected, perhaps drew his inspiration and emotion from Bacchus, threw themselves into the arms of His Lordship, who received them with a charity and loving kindness, ample enough no doubt, to dispense with any such motives as a desire to stifle in the birth an incipient National School, which ignorance of business, and fortuitous mishaps, had prevented the parents from establishing. It by no means follows, however, that the proposed teacher would ever have been appointed by the National Board; or that, without appointment, he would have been allowed to occupy their school; and had he been appointed, I trust that no short probation under his employers would have made them so far forget themselves as to point to his temporary morality as an indication that the Bishop of Newcastle, being sore, had made false statements. The letters I have alluded to (of April and June, 1850,) are now before me, and I quote from them as follows :—

WOODVILLE, April 24th, 1850.

SIR,—I received your letter, and thank you for the information it contains, and shall feel obliged if you will be pleased to make mention of me to become a Teacher, under the National Board, shall also feel thankfull (sic in orig.), if you will send me the different documents relative to National School, the inhabitants feel determined to have a National School here.

I find there are no less than 250 children above five years of age, and within a circuit of two miles of all Denominations, and no school whatever to go to; they are very anxious for me to begin a Private School "untill" a National School can be got. [Here follows some imformation about a previous schoolmaster, whose name, as well as that of the writer of this letter, I see no reason to make public.] The school has

been closed, and I find by all the parents of the children, that he has been in the habit of "Tipling," &c., and great complaints for his not attending to them; he had at one time, above 100 in his school, who are now playing about the camp like lost sheep for the want of a shepherd. If you should wish it, I will forward you a correct list of children above five years of age belonging to each denomination. It would be charity indeed, to look into this part of the County of Durham; it is "quiet" clear a good school could be established on this part of the Butterwick Parish, called the farms of Mr. ——, the —— Farm, and that of ——, Esq., and others; the number of children here are "quiet" sufficient for a large school, independent of Cooley Camp, called Woodville, it is clear two schools are very much wanted here, and "the inhabitants are all in favour of a National School," and are ready and willing to do their utmost, as far as the "Pocket" goes, to any reasonable extent. A temporary building will be put up for me by the settlers, to teach in "untill" we know your pleasure. [The writer then refers to some persons who would testify to his good intentions, and, assuring me of his good resolutions, "craves my interest in the matter."] Excuse my trespassing upon your valuable time, and any information I can give you with respect to this populous parish, I will do so honestly, and in an impartial manner.

I am, Sir, &c.

G. W. Rusden, Esq. (Signed) ——.

The next letter is dated 14th June, 1850. It movingly represents the want of a school in the neighbourhood adverted to in the previous letter; and is signed by the proposed teacher on behalf of thirty-three persons, whose names are affixed, and by whom (the document shews that) an attendance of seventy or eighty children is guaranteed. Like the former letter, it states that all the subscribers "*are desirous to have a National School established,* or to convert the school already established in a National School," until one could be built in a more central situation.

As I have before remarked, this letter by some mishap did not fall into my hands until nearly a year after it was written. I find by my diary that on my return from Moreton Bay, I visited the locality in question on the 23rd April, 1851, and was told that the delay (in receiving assistance) which the parents had encountered, had led them to content themselves with an application to the Bishop of Newcastle, and that the proposed teacher had received a promise that he should be taken on trial into the Church of England School.

It is a source of sincere regret to me that the immense extent of country over which I had to travel, and the limited

means at my disposal, should in this, as in some other instances, have been found detrimental to the interests of persons desirous to educate their children on national principles; but it is also a source of satisfaction to me to reflect that, in itinerating the country from Moreton Bay to Portland Bay, I always found the community at large ready to sympathize not only with the National Board, but with my own individual efforts; and, without respect of creed or country, willing to recognize the fact that I was doing my best.

This must be my apology for the misfortunes which have befallen the locality now under consideration, and which have in their consequences involved the Bishop of Newcastle's appearance in a character, which, however delightfully confusing, I believe no one will envy him. If he should fear that I, sharing in the spirit of deception he has imputed to the Board in Sydney, have misrepresented the documents I have now quoted from, I can assure him in all good faith, that I shall hold them ready for inspection by any of his friends; I shall not indeed trust him with the originals, because

"Hoc Ithacus vult et magno mercentur Atridæ."

If I might venture to advise his Lordship, I would suggest that if he wishes to damage the National or any other system of education, he should transfer to it his sympathies for, and connexion with, "*this exile so addicted formerly to drunkenness*," who may say with Lucio, "Nay friar, I am a kind of burr, I shall stick."

In bidding his Lordship farewell, I must entreat him to remember that by the quotations I have previously made from Tillotson, I have secured the approval of an Archbishop of Canterbury, to which I will now add the testimony of a Bishop of Gloucester.

"Are not Nature and Religion both the offspring of God? Were not both given for human contemplation? * * To conclude, therefore, in the words of our great philosopher

(Bacon): 'Let no man upon a weak conceit of sobriety, or an ill-applied moderation, think or maintain, that a man can search too far, or be too well studied in the book of God's word, or in the book of God's works; but rather let men endeavour an endless progress or proficience in both; only let them beware that they apply both to charity, and not to swelling; to use, and not to ostentation; and again, that they do not unwisely mingle or confound these learnings together.' Could we suppose the divinity of Bacon's genius to have been such as that he foresaw the miserable havoc which a late cabalistic crew have made, both of the works and the word of God, by this impure and unnatural mixture; we can hardly conceive words more expressive, or a warning more awakening, than what is here contained in this caution against all such blind workers in dirt and darkness."—*Warburton.*

I believe if the celebrated author of this passage could come amongst us, to "revisit the glimpses of the moon," he would not find it difficult to apply his former language to a cabalistic crew of modern times.

From his Lordship's pamphlet, I now turn to one published by the Rev. Mr. Wallace, which, the Bishop thinks, has ably answered another pamphlet, in praise of National Education. I do not happen to agree with his Lordship, but as I have undertaken to review "the opposition," I must say a few words on the matter.

The facts are these. A public meeting (at which I attended) was convened at Moreton Bay, to consider the propriety of establishing a National School there. Mr. Wallace was in the Court-house during some part of the time occupied in the business of the evening; but he vanished before the votes of the meeting were appealed to.

The meeting in question, affirmed the principle that it was good to establish a National School in the township of Brisbane.

A day or two afterwards, it was intimated to me that the elected Local Patrons, would be glad if I would deliver an address particularly directed to a refutation of the objections which had been at different times urged in the colony against the National System; the remarks I had made, being more designed to embrace the general features of the system, than to defend it from the misconstructions to which it had been subjected. The short period of my stay in Brisbane, did not admit of my meeting the wish thus expressed; but one of the Local Patrons (Mr. Duncan) kindly undertook to gratify his colleagues, and delivered a Lecture, which has been printed, and has obtained some measure of public approval.

To this lecture, the Rev. Mr. Wallace replied. The Rev. Lecturer's style of reasoning may, I think, be fairly estimated by means of the passages I intend to quote from him.

"The National System, it is said, can secure better schoolmasters, because it gives higher salaries. What then is their highest salary? I am informed that the highest salary they have given is £80. Really, this is an extraordinary argument, for, as it happens, we give £80! One system ranges from £80 to £40; the other, from £80 to £20. The money derived from the pupils is exactly the same, and we have means of augmenting the salaries of our masters, which the National Board have not. But further, the National Board have in Sydney, a school for the training and educating their masters; we have four in Sydney, and one on the Hunter. In this respect, we beat them five to one. Again, are the National Schools cheaper to parents? No: *their* charges range from 1s. to 1d., ours range from one shilling to nothing."

I have laboured to little purpose if my reader does not perceive that Mr. Wallace's peculiar strength lies in making untenable assertions;—there is no Gordian knot to untie—there is merely required a small pair of scissors to shear this Samson's locks, and leave him helpless.

I shewed in the last chapter, that *four Denominational Schools, not one only* must be introduced on any arena, as a proof of the sufficiency of the system; and as no mere assertion can weaken my position, it seems to me that four times eighty pounds on the Denominational side, and eighty pounds on the National, evince a very considerable advantage as to economy on my side of the question. I also shewed, that if parents pay half as much to a National teacher as to a Denominational one, the fund derived from fees in one National School, is double the amount obtained in any of the four Denominational Schools required. I need scarcely shew that one man must fail to teach, conscientiously, four different creeds, and I have yet to learn that I was wrong in my deductions, or that £320, payable in every village, would not exhaust the public purse sooner than £80, payable in every village.

As regards the "beating by five to one," in the matter of training schools, it is possible, that Mr. Wallace did not know the meaning of a training school, or that he did not know the state of the schools he alluded to. I find that the Attorney-General mentioned in Council, in Sydney, (Nov. 27th, 1851), that the St. James' School (one of Mr. Wallace's five), contained "*not a single teacher in training;*" and the learned gentleman added, that the Report of the Denominational School Board on the Morpeth School (another of Mr. Wallace's five), exhibited a similar deficiency.

"*No candidates are training for the office of schoolmasters.* A schoolmistress assists the teacher, and is paid by him: (teacher's salary £75, and £20 fees). The reading good; spelling indifferent, copy-books clean. A few, knowledge of geography, but deficient in grammar, arithmetic, and history. The teacher has been lately appointed, and the school was seen to disadvantage; but as a Model School for the diocese, the Board were disappointed with the progress made, and with the general arrangements."

Five to one was a moderate statement on Mr. Wallace's part; if this be, in his opinion, a training school for teachers, why not fifty to one? it is as easy to say, and admits of similar proof. Mr. Wallace proceeds:—

"When speaking of the National School books, in his late lecture, Mr. Duncan bestowed great and deserved praise on them, and concluded with this challenge—confingant tali aliquid. Let the Denominationalists shew us anything to match these, if they can. I beg in the presence of this meeting to accept this challenge, and to present Mr. Duncan a book used in our schools, which in my estimation, is very nearly a match for the best book of the National System, [handing a book to Mr. Duncan]. Mr. Duncan will, perhaps, be good enough to read the title to the meeting. [Mr. Duncan reads, 'the Holy Bible.'] I think this meeting is now satisfied that I can produce something to match the books of the National System. The Bible, gentlemen, is a book not used in the National Schools."

Giving full credit to Mr. Wallace for the artistic effect with which he has endeavoured to clothe this little episode in his labours, I am bound to say that his last assertion is untenable, and that if Mr. Duncan's pity or charity had not been greater than his love for amusement or justification, he might have turned the laugh the other way.

The Bible *is* used in National Schools; and I shall quote a much closer reasoner than Mr. Wallace to confute him. The Rev. Mr. Saunders, in Sydney, in speaking of the asserted interdict upon the use of the Bible (for the charge is a stale one, as Mr. Wallace well knew, and an unnecessary one, as he must also have known if he has ever been near a National School, and found the doors open to him), and of prayer also, says:—

"The whole proceeds upon an hypothesis which is untrue; the system does not interdict *one* of the particulars included, it leaves them untouched. Nor does it proceed upon the

principle of interdicting them, but gives them free license wherever they are entertained. The allegation, when formally drawn out, is a mere dispute about words: call the extra-hours for Biblical instruction school hours, and the Bible *is* taught in the school; deny that they are school hours, and then the Bible is not taught in the schools, but either way *the Bible is taught*, and the charge of interdict is refuted. Abandoning endless logomachies, let us look at the facts. Protestant children do freely use the Bible, and that settles the question. Let Episcopalians know that the catechism and the creed are taught, and that ought to satisfy their conscience.* But it is said, that Roman Catholics are exempt, and so they ought to be;—their parents or their priests decide that, and not the State. Their spiritual guides are accountable for it and not we. Justice requires that they should be as free to abstain from, as we are to use the Sacred Volume. And here let me say with regard to the Protestant principle, that it consists in making the Scriptures the rule of faith, and by inference, in the right to use the whole Bible. *But it is not consistent with that principle to force it on others.* This principle is maintained under the Irish system on both sides.

Receiving the partial testimonies which were at hand when the question was first discussed, I did not perceive that the right to use or desist from the use of the Bible was maintained. I therefore, opposed the system; but, discovering my error, I earnestly ask every man to examine the system anew, and I am convinced that many will discover, as I have done, that it contains no violation of Protestant principles. Further, I believe it does not violate either Episcopalian, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, or Wesleyan

* I find in the "Quarterly Review" (September, 1849), this corroboration of Mr. Saunders' statement, from the mouth of the Bishop of Cashel: "I admitted from the beginning that in connection with the National Board, Protestants may have the best religious instruction; but I could not be a party to a compact to withhold the Scriptures from the Roman Catholics." But all have, who ask; therefore the Bible is withheld from none.

principles; and I am sure that the general instruction given is not contrary to the law of God."

Mr. Duncan might therefore have said, "Yes, gentlemen this is the Book of books; and there are certain expounders of it, whose duty it is, and whose pleasure it ought to be, to visit the schools, and use this volume in teaching their flocks; and Mr. Wallace is one of those persons—in his own estimation. *In Denominational Schools, the whole of the Book is never read and expounded,* and when once we come to a choice of passages, which is involved in the practice followed in Denominational Schools, the use of the Book is, in both schools, the same in principle. The difference is only a question of degree; with this advantage on the side of the Nationalists, that the passages read in ordinary school hours cannot be selected at hazard by an ignorant teacher, but are patent to all, and are guaranteed by the wisest men we have. When I said, produce equal school-books to these, I had not the presumption to call the Holy Scriptures a mere class-book; nor will I do so. When I speak of a Custom-house as a building equal to any office in the town, I do not compare it to the house of God; and, in alleging that the most sacred use of speech is prayer, I do not mean to imply that all other language is forbidden. Behold, gentlemen, the Sacred Volume in the hands of Mr. Wallace, and ask him to tell you, with his own lips, whether he refuses to visit Church of England children, in a National School, in order to instruct them from that book in the formularies of his faith."

If Mr. Duncan had thus replied to Mr. Wallace, I question whether we should have been favoured with the specimen of interpellations he has so carefully caused to be printed, or whether he would have elegantly gone on to say, soon afterwards, "we have already given the National System two severe falls."

Meantime, the study of Mr. Saunders' letter already

quoted, will perhaps, do Mr. Wallace much good, and I therefore commend it to him. Concerning the use of the Bible as a class-book, I may also subjoin, for his edification, a passage from the Report * of the late Inspector of Denominational Schools in Victoria.

Mr. Wallace says, "They teach reading and spelling—so do we. They teach reading and writing—so do we," &c. &c., and adds, "In fact on this question, I suppose, there is no difference between us."—Indeed!

* There is one point which at the risk of giving offence, I feel it my duty to notice, viz. the practice of making a common reading and spelling book of Holy Writ. With that volume as the basis of religious teaching, I have nothing to do, but I must protest against its use as a class-book. The following quotations on the subject are from Professor Moseley, Mr. Allen, Mr. Bellairs, and Mr. Watkins, all Clergymen, and Inspectors of Schools in England.

"It is certainly worthy of observation, and important in its bearing on the question of education, that a child taught to read only in the Scriptures, appears in some measure to have lost the faculty of reading, when any other book is placed in his hands. So strongly am I impressed with this belief, that I entertain little doubt that had the ability of (these) children to read been tried in any book of secular instruction, the number of children whom I found capable of reading with ease and correctness would have been diminished one half."—Rev. H. Moseley.

"In a great majority of cases where Holy Scripture is made a reading lesson, a lesson just like all other lessons,—a long, tedious, often unintelligible lesson—the children turn to it with weariness, receive it with irreverence, and derive none of that solemn and peculiar instruction from it which it is intended to convey. How often have I seen them counting their place in the class, that they might learn which verse they should have to read. How often when the chapter was finished have they gone on without pause to another, as if the only object in reading the Sacred writings was to get through as much as possible of them within their allotted period of time! The answers too, which are made to very simple questions—answers, some of which would be blasphemous if the children were not grossly ignorant,—are such as painfully to convince the enquirer, that to read the Holy Scriptures in our schools does not always mean 'to mark, learn, and inwardly digest them.'"—Rev. F. Watkins.

"In many schools, the Holy Bible is still retained as the general reading book for the senior classes. This is and must be a matter of great regret to all persons who have carefully considered the subject, and ascertained the effects of such a practice upon the progress, information, general intelligence, but, above all, upon the religious habits of the children."—Rev. H. W. Bellairs.

"It is no uncommon thing to find the Bible dishonoured by being made the lesson book of such as are scarcely able to read monosyllables. The grave objections of a moral character to this practice, so well fitted as it would seem to give the children a distaste for the study of that book which ought to be their dearest solace in after life, I will not touch upon, but it is obvious that the trouble of learning to read is greatly and unnecessarily increased by the use of lessons not properly graduated, in which the difficulties are not proportioned to the ability of the learners."—Rev. J. Allan. (Victoria Legislative Council Papers, 1851.)

"What thinks he? has he beheld,
Or has he read or heard? or could he think?
Or does he almost think, although he sees,
That he does see?"

Over and over again has it been proved by accurate observation, that Denominational Education fails to educate a very large proportion of the children of the State; over and over again has it been proved that National Education in great part remedies this evil; and in the particular colony of New South Wales, in which Mr. Wallace lives, it was proved by a Select Committee, that about 13,000 children out of 25,676 were apparently without instruction, under the auspices of the Denominational System;—and we are to be coolly told by a person, whose pursuits have not until within the last year or two been nominally literary, (for Mr. Wallace has only lately entered into Church orders, and was ordained after he had uttered the above words), that he presumes or supposes, there is no difference between us. So, in a town, if the Roman Catholics should insist on not using the light of the same lamps as were furnished to the fancies of a Church of England man; and a Wesleyan, again, should insist on having light of a different tint from that which was approved by a Presbyterian;—according to Mr. Wallace, one might reasonably (having £10,000 to expend) give £5,000 to the Church of England, £2,500 to the Roman Catholics, £1,500 to the Presbyterians, and £1,000 to the Wesleyans, in order that they might compete in lighting with party-coloured lights a few of the principal streets of the town;—and though confessedly many streets would remain unlighted, because of the ambition of each sect to illuminate the market-places in which phylacteries were exhibited, yet forsooth we are not to reverse our false decree, —not to refuse to distribute in so dissipated a manner so important a fund,—not to set to work to cause a well-devised scheme of general use and application to be put in operation; —and all because there happens to start up a lamplighter, who

says he is a better judge of light than any one else; and who is ignorant that united action is more efficacious than a multiplicity of minor actions, possessing, when added together, no greater elements of power than the aggregate contained in the united action which he would discard.

I have quoted so many leading men in support of the proposition, that it is well for a State to combine its energies, and diffuse its benefits even to the remotest and least favoured localities, that I shall not now repeat their opinions. What, however, will Mr. Wallace say to the following protest which emanated from working-men in London, and which shews that their arithmetic is based on sounder principles than his own, while at the same time it speaks with no forgetfulness of the reverence due to religion?

"We cannot consent that our children should be apportioned amongst the religious sects; that their plastic minds and nascent judgments, should be subjected to an external pressure, which would give them a permanent bias towards peculiar notions. This appears to us to be the very way to foment and cherish those theological distinctions which already so unhappily divide mankind. Religion is intended to prepare men for heaven, where the society of the blessed will be united in peace, and love. Why should it be made on earth the pretext for cutting up the community into sections, and separating them from one another by unpronounceable shibboleths? We have now for several years, been spectators of the dispute going on between the denominations on the subject of Popular Education. We have noticed that they all agree as to its urgent and imperative necessity; each party has vied with the others in eloquent descriptions of the frightful condition of the working classes. We have been called 'a multitude of untutored savages,' and the places where we dwell have been designated as 'great and terrible wildernesses.' We have sat still, expecting that the reli-

gious denominations, in holy charity and pity for our sufferings, would for once lay by their peculiarities, which they themselves confess are not essential to salvation, and agree upon some plan by which the resources of the State might be employed to rescue us from our awful condition. But we have waited in vain; the controversy has waxed hotter and more furious; our little ones have been forgotten in the fray, and their golden moments have been allowed to run irrecoverably to waste."

When this manifesto was read in the House of Commons, it was hinted that perhaps a working man had not written it; but as we have many instances of great learning acquired by working-men (Elihu Burritt and others), it may possibly have been written by one of them, and there is no doubt that many of them have adopted it. Perhaps, Mr. Wallace does not yet perceive the ill effects of a dissipation of funds: but for the sake of my readers, I will hasten on through his pamphlet, jotting down a few remarks on some particular passages.

"First then, can a National System teach Christianity? I answer, it *can* NOT; and let that answer sink deep into the heart of every parent who has a child to be saved. I now put the second question: Does the National System teach Christianity? I answer it *does* NOT; and let that answer also sink deep into every heart."

When I mentioned that Mr. Wallace had only taken priest's orders after the delivery of the above sentences, I had a much deeper purpose in view than to mention the mere fact. I intend to show from it the reckless way in which he is content to make assertions which bring him into direct opposition to acknowledged great men; and I believe that nothing but an extreme rawness in management of a weapon would induce any one to commit himself as Mr. Wallace has done.

Hear Dr. Arnold of Rugby! Writing (18th November,

1847,) to T. W. Empson, Esq., he says: "Now the Education System in Ireland, which has yet been violently condemned by many good men, *is Christian*, though it is not Protestant or Roman Catholic; their Scripture Lessons give it the Christian character clearly and decisively." I might add very many confirmatory quotations from great men,—from Whately, the Earl of Derby, the late Bishop of Norwich, &c., &c., &c. At present, however, I think Dr. Arnold's weight sufficient to annihilate the capital letters and typographical array which I have transcribed, and which seems akin to the theory of the Tom Pipes school of orators, who never failed to garnish their words with a flavor intended to compensate for, but quite congenial with the want of depth in their ideas.

But Mr. Wallace wishes to make out that Whately and Arnold were not in favor of a system such as has been established in New South Wales. He does not condescend to say wherein the system differs in this colony from that established in Ireland. I can tell him that it is founded on the same principles, and upon no other; nay more, that, without a new Act of Incorporation, neither the Board in Ireland, nor the Board in New South Wales, can deviate from certain broad principles laid down in the Earl of Derby's letter to the Duke of Leinster in 1831; amongst others, that, if possible, combined literary instruction should be given, and that separate religious instruction might be afforded to each child by its pastor, or by any person deputed by the parent or guardian.

The Board of Commissioners in Ireland accordingly undertook their task in 1831. In 1837, I find them reporting:—"The principle of the system, and which we consider fundamental and unalterable, is that the National Schools shall be open alike to Christians of all denominations; therefore that no child shall be required to be present at any religious instruction or exercise of which his parents or guar-

dians may disapprove, and that opportunities shall be afforded to all children to receive separately, at particular periods, such religious instruction or exercise as their parents or guardians may provide for them. The letter of this rule is, that religious instruction shall be given out of the hours, during which all the children attending a school are assembled for common instruction."

In 1839, they report: "Whoever refers to our Reports must see that we leave the particular religious education of children of all denominations in the hands of such persons as their parents or guardians may choose to intrust with it, taking care only that children shall not be, through the direct or indirect operation of the rules adopted in any school, either prevented from attending it for general, literary, and secular instruction, or debarred by any compulsory attendance upon it, from opportunity of receiving such religious instruction as their parents or guardians may provide for them."

In 1842, they say, "It does not belong to us to lay down any particular course of religious instruction for the children who may attend National Schools. It is for the Established Church to determine the religious instruction that ought to be given to the children of her communion,—that instruction it is for her clergy to give, or cause to be given,—and our rules, instead of obstructing them in the discharge of the duty thus cast upon them, facilitate the performance of it. But while they do this, they certainly do not allow the clergy of the Established Church, any more than the clergy of any other communion, to convert a right which is given to them for the benefit of those who may be committed to their pastoral charge, into a wrong against those who are not. Therefore they do not allow them to make the grants for education the means of interfering with parental authority, or withdrawing the children of the poor, of any persuasion, from the religion in which it is the will of their parents or guardians that they shall be brought up."

The above remarks were elicited by an attack made against the National System, by the Committee of Church Education, which Committee also alleged that the Scripture Extracts printed by the National Board were "not merely defective as a standard of faith and practice, but *that they evinced throughout a manifest leaning on the part of the compilers, to the peculiar errors of the Romish Church.*"

To this the Board reply, that they never contemplated the framing of a Lesson-book exhibiting a correct standard of faith and practice, and they refer to Lord Stanley's original letter which contains these words :—

"Although it is is not designed to exclude from the list of books for the combined instruction, such portions of Sacred History, or of religious or moral teaching as may be approved of by the Board, it is to be understood, that this is by no means intended to convey a perfect and sufficient religious education, or to supersede the necessity of separate religious instruction on the day set apart for that purpose."

The charge of unfairness is, they say, "so incredible that it can have no effect (considering who the Protestant members of the Board are, and what their station,) but that of betraying the prejudice in which it has originated." They remark also, that an untrue and chimerical countercharge had been made by Roman Catholics, and I find that Dr. M'Hale thus words it :—

"In short, in the compilation of the lessons themselves, extracts are introduced for which no cause can be assigned, to the exclusion of others equally appropriate, than that they are the usual favorite passages from which Protestants derive their peculiar opinions on the points of grace, good works, free will, and predestination."

(One or both of these contradictory charges must be based in ignorance of the original Scriptures it would seem.)

In 1842 and 1843, the reports thus describe the books used :

"The books we have published for the use of the National

Schools, and which though not forced, are adopted universally in them, contain several lessons upon the subject of religion. They give an epitome of Sacred History; they dwell on the original sin of our first parents, and on the promise then made, that in time One would come by whom sin should be overcome; they show how that promise was renewed, particularly in the covenant with Abraham; and they point out the fulfilment of it in the coming and suffering of our Lord; they dwell also on the giving of the law to Moses; they state that it is commonly divided into three parts, the moral, the civil, and the ceremonial, and that the moral is of perpetual obligation, because the duties which the creatures of God owe to him and to one another, can never have an end. The duty of Christian charity is set forth as enjoined by the precepts and example of our Lord himself; and a lesson by which it is thus inculcated is hung up in every National School."*

In 1844, the Board say, "In respect of the fundamental principle, that of avoiding all interference, positive or negative, with conscientious scruples, the Commissioners have no discretion." And after adding that they exercise a discretionary power in revising their rules, and that thus where no child suffers wrong to the wishes of parents, religious instruction can be given even in school hours by a patron, they urge that they have all along adhered to the main principles of securing the establishment of a system of united education, not excluding children of any denomination, but admitting, without doing violence to conscience, all those of whatever religious creed, who might desire education. In the success of the system, which they assert is truly national, they say they have been amply compensated for the labor they have endured, malevolence they have experienced, and obloquy to which they have been exposed.

* This lesson was composed by Archbishop Whately, and on being read to his coadjutors (in his absence), was proposed by Dr. Murray, and unanimously adopted. It will be found in Appendix B.

In 1846, they repeat that they have adhered strictly to the fundamental principles of the National System to which they have before so often adverted.

In 1849, they repeat that no system could possibly succeed in Ireland unless it be explicitly avowed and clearly understood, as its leading principle, that no attempt shall be made to influence or disturb the peculiar religious tenets of any sect or description of Christians; and this definition, given in 1812, by the Archbishops of Armagh and Cashel, by the Bishop of Killala, and by Provost Elrington, must be in heart adopted by those who would avail themselves of grants made to the Board framed in accordance with Lord Stanley's letter.

The above passages show that the Board in Ireland do still consider that they have adhered to the Charter under which they were commissioned; and I may well ask if it is reasonable for a stranger to Ireland to come forward in New South Wales and assert that the Board have not acted up to the general principle on which they were empowered to act. So well, indeed, has that principle succeeded, that in their Sixteenth Report, for 1849, they say that so far as they know, no case has ever occurred in which their schools have been made engines of proselytism; and it will be seen that Lord Stanley considered freedom from suspicion of proselytism an indispensable condition to ensure success. Moreover, in their report the Board say that their last arrangements as to the facilities afforded for the giving of religious instruction, "*cannot be objected to by any one who places his school under us with the honest purpose of acting upon our leading principle.*"

At the risk of being supposed to quote Mr. Wallace's words with a view to show that he used them with a dishonest purpose, I must now quote the following remarkable contradiction of the allegation of the Board that they have adhered to their leading principle. I take it from Mr. Wallace's pamphlet.

"Let us visit one of the National Schools in the neighbourhood of Dublin. We enter the school and perhaps see a clergyman of the Church of England teaching the Church of England Catechism. *Indignant at such an infraction of the rules* we walk up and ask him what he means by such conduct. He answers with a smile, that the Local Board has relaxed the rules and admitted Church books, &c., &c., * * * In fact to come to the point, as the Bishop of Sydney has proved, and as Mr. Lowe does not deny, these Irish schools are almost wholly and purely Denominational."

Having already shown that the Irish Board plainly assert that they have not deviated from their general rules, and asserting on my own responsibility that no local board in Ireland has the power to infringe those rules, let me here record the statement of the Board in Ireland as to their discharge of their duty, if any infraction of the rules were attempted.

"It would be found impossible to lay down in detail any set of rules so accommodated to all the various circumstances of every locality, and so guarded against all possible mistakes and misrepresentations, as to be secure from being violated in spirit, without any tangible infringement of the letter of them. For example, under our present rules, the patron of a National School may give religious instruction during even the fixed school hours. A patron, Protestant or Roman Catholic, might possibly, availing himself of the letter of this rule, make so unjust a use of this privilege as to drive from the school all children of a persuasion different from his own, or induce them, if they remained, to share in the religious instruction to which they and their parents were conscientiously opposed. In such a case, we should immediately interpose, and cause the patron to abandon a course so inconsistent with the whole spirit of our system; or in case of his refusal, we should strike the school off our roll."

The above statement, originally made in 1845, was re-

peated by the Board in 1850, and I believe I need caution no one against giving heed to the representations of a controversialist, who, if ignorant of his opponent's sentiments, has dogmatically condemned his own crude notions as to the nature of those sentiments, and who if cognisant of those sentiments, has directly declared them to be other than they really are.

Any one indignant at an infraction of the rules, has therefore only to make an accusation and thus secure their preservation.

Whether the Bishop of Sydney has proved that the Irish Schools are Denominational, it is not for me to say; but it must be allowed that if they are Denominational he and Mr. Wallace must support them, for his Lordship and Mr. Wallace, are supporters of Denominational Schools. Therefore if the Bishop has done as Mr. Wallace imputes to him, Mr. Wallace ought to have supported, in true Irish fashion, this National System which turns out to be, after all, Denominational. If the Bishop has not succeeded in his attempt, Mr. Wallace's assertion falls to the ground: and in either case, much damage is done to his lecture.

I must not, however, admit that Mr. Lowe joined his Lordship in the solecism of calling the National System Denominational. Mr. Lowe distinctly recommended the National System, with the understanding that its acceptation would discard Denominationalism; and with regard to the Bishop of Sydney's argument, Mr. Lowe said, in 1844, "His Lordship has taken much pains to prove that this system in Ireland has become almost purely Denominational. *I must protest against any argument which assumes parallelism between the two countries.* There are some poisons so powerful that they are said to shiver the vessels in which they are contained to atoms; such a poison is Irish party spirit, exasperated by ages of oppression and misery, involving acrimonious religious disputes, and intimately connected

with every man's possession of his property. The institutions which have been elsewhere found beneficial, seem to lose their nature when introduced there; and if this system has been able to exist thirteen years in Ireland, though that existence may be due in some measure to deviations from its principle; though it may not have been able to convince the discordant elements upon which it works; its existence at this moment, and its solemn approbation by two successive Governments of opposite opinions, prove that it has in itself no ordinary principle of vitality and increase. Bnt if it be Denominational, that is a merit in His Lordship's eyes, and he cannot expect to convince us by arguments which do not convince himself; at any rate, such as it is, we are content to take it; *and I believe that those who insist most strongly on its Denominational tendency in Ireland,* where party is strong and Government weak, *are fully aware that it would not have a similar tendency in this country,* where happily party is weak and Government strong. This system seems to have aroused in His Lordship's mind, the most contradictory apprehensions; at one time it is represented as laying a trap for the souls of children; at another, as stereotyping errors, and issuing a mandate that they shall never be amended. Surely both these apprehensions cannot be just. We are told nothing of the expense of the present system,—nothing to extenuate the unfitness for a thinly peopled land, of a plan of proselytizing education, *which requires in common fairness that wherever there is one school there should be at least four;* but instead of an accurate and philosophical view of the state and prospects of education in this Colony, which no man is more competent to give than the Lord Bishop of Australia, we are met by *overstrained arguments, drawn from ex-parte statements of abuses, which may or may not have crept into the Irish system.*"

Having been personally known to Mr. Lowe, and being unconscious of his having changed his views on the subject

of education, I might perhaps have relied on my recollection of his opinions, which I believe Mr. Wallace only guessed at; but I prefer to submit the litera scripta, which I confidently recommend to the consideration of those persons who may have been misled by Mr. Wallace's mistake.

That mistake, however, I am bound to analyze rather more closely then at second hand, and I shall quote the words of the Archbishop of Dublin, to show how egregiously Mr. Wallace is mistaken in supposing *that* Dr. Arnold was no friend to the thorough National System, *that* the principle of that system has been intentionally departed from, or *that* the favor with which it has been viewed by leading men in Britain has been weakened by the misrepresentations with which it has been assailed.

"He (the Archbishop of Dublin) had known Dr. Arnold for upwards of a quarter of a century, and he begged to assure their Lordships, that any insinuation which they might have heard of his being unfriendly to the National Schools, or that he wished to see the Scriptures or any other book *forced upon them*, was entirely the reverse of fact. He could also assure their Lordships, from his own personal knowledge, that he (Dr. Arnold) was employed in connexion with the Commissioners in drawing up the Scriptural Extracts to which allusion had been made; and that they had derived from his great and eminent scholarship the most important assistance, as would be testified by all the Commissioners; and that he (Dr. Arnold) knew all along that these Extracts were to be offered to the children at the National Schools, but not forced upon them. It had also been said, that the National Society had altered their system. That was not the fact. There had been no change introduced into the system or into the principle which regulated it. Whatever change had been effected, had been made merely in the wording of the rules necessary to carry the principle of the system into effect, or to render them more perfect and intelligible; but

as to changes in the principles which were at the basis of the National Schools, he pledged himself that such had never been made from the very first!"—*Mirror of Parliament* 1845.

"Who shall decide when doctors disagree?"

Here we have a talented and exalted personage in Ireland, a member of the Educational Board, declaring that the fundamental principles of the Irish System have been adhered to; and we have also the assertion of an obscure candidate for holy orders in New South Wales, to the effect that they had been changed before the date of his lecture, delivered in 1850.

I shall not attempt to decide the point thus mooted, but shall endeavor to show, by a quotation from the Duke of Wellington, the estimation in which the efforts of the Irish Board were held in England, in 1845.

"He certainly at one time had entertained an opinion adverse to the National System of Education, nor had he then much faith in the benefits likely to result from it. His opinion was then very adverse to a system of joint education; but he had altered his opinions on that subject. When once a measure became law, he, whether as the Executive officer of Government, or in any rank or situation in life, in which it might be his duty to carry it into execution, should invariably lend his best aid to carry it into execution, whatever might be the consequences. And this was the rule which honest and honorable men should move upon. He applied that maxim to the conduct of the clergymen in Ireland. He approved entirely of their coming to the number of seventeen hundred, and making application to the House for aid to carry into execution the maintenance of the Scriptural Society; but having received the answer which they had, in that clear and distinct letter from the Right Hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government,—he having told them that he did not mean to propose a grant for that Society, and that he considered such a grant inconsistent with his duty—

let them perform theirs—let them come forward, each in his parish, and give their aid to carry into execution the system that was preferred by the Legislature, preferred by their Sovereign and by the Government; and ordered to be carried into execution by the Board appointed for the purpose. Then he should approve of their conduct and think it highly praiseworthy and creditable to them. Let them say what they will at Exeter Hall, but in their parishes he desired, he advised, nay, he entreated them to carry into effect the law, the preferred law of the Government and the Legislature. Now one word as to the conduct of the Government with reference to their refusal to give money for the promotion of the views of the Church Education Society. Their Lordships must be aware that there were no less than four different systems of religious opinion in Ireland. There were first, the doctrines of the Church of England; then, of the Roman Catholic Church; third the Presbyterians in connexion with the Synod of Ulster; and then, another, that of the seceders from the Synod of Ulster. Now we should have according to the proposed mode of proceeding, four different systems of education going on in Ireland, all supported by the Government. What would Noble Lords say of the principles of such a plan? And let their Lordships observe this, that if they did not make these grants, they would have each of these parties complaining and saying, 'Your conduct is inconsistent with our conscientious religious scruples; you are giving our money to teach that which we believe to be heresy.' Each of the four systems would say this of the other three. Really that was what could not go on!* He did not deny that he had very strong opinions which he had entertained for a long time against a united system of education; but experience had shown him that that opinion was wrong, and that the system had done a great deal of good.

* But this is what does go on, and is considered, by the friends of the Denominational System, quite good enough to go on in a Colony.

He had cordially acted in carrying it into execution in Ireland. He was in office for a short time in 1835, and he cordially carried the system into execution during that short time. He supported the increase of the grant in 1835. He earnestly urged the clergymen of the Church of England,—let them do what they would with their votes, with their voices, their speeches and their writings; he entreated them as men of honor, as men of religion, and as good Christians; he entreated them when they went to their parishes, to carry on their duty as became them as good subjects, and men who were desirous to obey the law under which they lived."

From these "marching orders," (by which it will be evident that the Iron Duke had not only read his Bible, but had dipped into the Canons of the Church, which make it imperative upon clergymen to submit in respect of Education to the Queen's authority,) and from the passages I have quoted from Whately, a fair estimate may be formed of the value of Mr. Wallace's assertion, that the National Schools in Ireland were knowingly or actually made Denominational. But, continues Mr. Wallace, before you can prove that Whately, Murray, the noble Arnold, and the great Presbyterian lights are friendly to the National System established in New South Wales, you must prove that it is the same as that founded in Ireland. "Now I can settle that question in half a dozen words. The Irish System supports Roman Catholic Schools, Presbyterian Schools and Church of England Schools. If your system is to claim the praise of Whately, or of Arnold, it must do the same."

The reader will perceive that what Mr. Wallace imputes as an excellence, is exactly what Whately, Arnold, and the Duke of Wellington declare that they would shrink from as a fault; and it will then be no matter of surprise to find that Mr. Wallace has evidently failed to understand the following Canon of his Church.

"Whosoever shall hereafter affirm that the King's Ma-

jesty hath not the same authority in causes ecclesiastical, that the godly kings had amongst the Jews and Christian Emperors of the Primitive Church, or impeach any part of his regal supremacy in the said causes restored to the Crown, and by the laws of this realm therein established; let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, but only by the Archbishop after his repentance and public revocation of those his wicked errors."

We have seen that the Christian Emperors of the Primitive Church legislated in the matter of schools, and we must therefore regret to see a clergyman in the nineteenth century proceeding gravely to excommunicate himself, beyond chance of local restoration, (there being no Archbishop in these Colonies) by virtue of a Canon which forbids him to act contumaciously towards his Sovereign. It is true that the 77th, 78th, and 79th Canons, which allude to schoolmasters, imply or direct that teachers shall be licensed by the Bishop; but the Canons spoke only of Bishops who obeyed their Sovereign and respected the laws.

I am sorry to have to produce this testimony, but if I find a controversialist ready to ignore the rules of his order, rather than spoil a sentence in his pamphlet, it must be considered entirely his own fault, if in reciting those rules I call down condemnation upon the pamphlet and the author together.

But, after denying that National Schools can teach Christianity, the lecturer suddenly finds it suit his purpose to assert that the School Books contain so much Christianity as to be, in his opinion, repulsive to Unitarians. "What will they say to your Hymn XV., verse 3, where the Divinity of Christ is distinctly recognized? What will they say to Hymn XXII., v. 8, where original sin is expressly asserted?" (Perhaps a little more inquiry would enable the lecturer to detect very nearly as much Christianity as he is accustomed to expound.) "Yet it is evident that Jews, Unitarians, Arians, Deists, and Socinians are part of

the nation; the moment, therefore, you exclude them you lose your nationality."

In another place we are told, "Whether they admit Jews or expel them, I care not, for the argument *goes crash through* their system."

Now as most Church of England men would be sorry to allow their sentiments to be judged by those of Mr. Wallace, although he professes the faith of that Church, it may reasonably be urged that the opinions of Unitarians on the National School Books, should be obtained from an authentic source. Whence does Mr. Wallace derive his right to make on the part of Unitarians, an objection which they do not make for themselves?

What says Channing? "Nothing moves my indignation more than the narrow policy of your Established Church, which denies the means of education to the people, because it cannot found a system of sectarian influence. * * She has prevented by her unrighteous claims the establishment of a system of National Education." Lest this testimony should fail to "*go crash through*" Mr. Wallace's arguments, I may add that there was on the Irish Board of Education, an Unitarian Commissioner, and that his consent to the use of the National School Books, having been formally given, Mr. Wallace is himself the first Unitarian champion who has placed his lance in rest against the Anti-Socinian tendencies of the hymns he has cited.

He goes on:—"I should like an answer to the following question:—Judging from the acknowledged principle of cutting out all points on which we disagree, with the religious teaching of what sect do you consider the religious teaching of the National System to coincide? I was warned against saying that the National Schools do not teach religion. Now I shall make a rather unexpected use of this warning. I insist upon it that the National Schools do teach religion, and I insist upon knowing what that religion is.

We may have a National School, but here we have no National religion. What religion then do the National Schools teach if it be not a National religion? For some religion it is. It is not that of the Church of England, nor of the Church of Rome; it is not that of the Presbyterians, the Wesleyans, the Independents, the Arians, the Quakers, the Unitarians, or the Socinians. It is not any of these; but some religion it is. Is it a Deistical religion? It is none of those I have mentioned; emphatically it is not Christian. If it be not Deistical, then it is something worse, and the advocates of this system are welcome to make the best of the alternative. I say that a Deist is the only man who could say of such a religion—this is mine,—perhaps even he would disown it! Truly this is very shocking; but is it not the legitimate result of their principle of cutting out all on which Christians disagree? When that is done, what remains but the faith of a Deist? * * If they would preserve their Christianity they must abandon their Nationality. But do not imagine, gentlemen, that this is all I charge upon the National System:—I charge upon that system deception—a deception which even its advocates have not escaped. This system has deceived and imposed upon the very men who made it. In seeking the phantom Unity, they have pitched, without knowing it, on the religion of the Deist. While professing to establish a National School, they are indeed and in fact establishing a Sectarian School of nearly the worst description. Now I am anxious not to overstate anything; my argument is strong enough to give rather than take. I do not rest it on the assertion that the teaching of the National Schools is Deistical. I believe it to be nearer Deistical than anything else; but if the advocates of National Schools dislike that term, and will tell me what that teaching is to be called which cuts out all on which Christians disagree, I will adopt that term when I speak of the religious teaching of the National Schools."

I shall answer Mr. Wallace's questions seriatim. The principle he declares to be *acknowledged* is deceptively stated :—the National System does not cut out all points on which we disagree, but introduces all points on which we agree. To solve his question is therefore most easy. That which is predicable of Christians as a class, is predicable of them in points in which they agree, not on points in which they disagree; and consequently the education which conforms to their common ideas is to be defined as Christian. It conforms to the teaching of no particular sect; and if it were to do so, it would forfeit its claim to a generic applicability, and would become sectarian. When Mr. Wallace "insists upon it" that the teaching in National Schools is religious, he approaches the truth; if he would consent to perceive that it is Christian, he would attain a conviction of the truth. Let him trace all Christianity as the world now knows it, to its summum genus, and when he has done so, if he still pronounce *that teaching to be sectarian which involves the common consent of mankind*, he will certainly receive no further questioning from me. When I use the term mankind, I presume he will acquit me of deserting the premises of the argument, by confining the word to the Christian part of the world.

The religious teaching of National Schools is, therefore, as Arnold called it, Christian; it is neither of the Church of England, of the Church of Rome, nor of the Scotch nor Wesleyan order of opinions; it is emphatically Christian. To say that points of disagreement are cut out of National School teaching, is justifiable no farther than it would be fair to say that an artist had excluded a particular colour from a painting. *Quoad* the painting, the question is, What is introduced? And the work is to be judged by the necessity or propriety of using certain colours;—not by a quaint catalogue of sundry mixtures of tints which any dauber may think it would have been well to include.

I repeat, therefore, that, as in all scientific research, the classification of facts, or of ideas, is referred to certain generic and inseparable properties of the object contemplated, so, that teaching which includes the points on which Christians agree must be looked upon as Christian teaching; and the absence of sectarianism, is complete proof of its general application. When Mr. Wallace makes up his mind to deny this, he must also make up his mind to prove that the world is mistaken in ascribing to the word *Christian* the signification it now bears.

I take the word to mean, *concordant with the precepts and practice of Christ;* now as our Saviour never acted or preached contradictorily, he never countenanced the contradictory teaching which is rife in Denominational Schools;—but the elegant phrase Mr. Wallace has used about unity, may, without much straining, conduce to show that the teaching of the National System is consonant with the Divine will.

"In seeking the phantom Unity, they have pitched, without knowing it, on the religion of the Deist."

So, according to Mr. Wallace, the only points on which Christians agree in common, are those which a Deist can join in believing; and a Deist he says is the only man who could say of National School religion—"this is mine,"—and yet, in a sentence I have quoted already, he admits that the National School Books distinctly recognize the Divinity of Christ! And forsooth his argument is such that he can afford to give rather than take!

To that large body of Christians who look forward to the completion of the work of the Word, his argument has indeed much to give, by way of explanation, and withdrawal of cause of offence. The use he has made of the word unity, tempts me to remember what he has forgotten. "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they may all

be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they may be one in us; that the world may believe that thou hast sent me," &c., &c. (John xvii, 20, 21.)

Thus we find that in seeking to attain what our Saviour prayed for, and prophesied of as a future proof of the Divinity of His mission, the advocates of the National System have been denounced as pursuers of, or "pitchers upon," a phantom. When I remember that Mr. Wallace in reading the almost inspired Litany of our Church, prays weekly for "unity, peace, and concord, among all nations," I will not be so uncharitable as to refrain from hoping that the meaning of the words may one day occur to him. He may depend upon it, that if he were to devote his time to an endeavor to impress on the minds of children a pious horror at the mention of Homoiousians, Sabellians, Arians, Socinians, Pelagians, Antinomians, Donatists, Anabaptists, Arminians, Calvinists, Manicheans, Brownists, Novatians, Eutychians, Swedenborgians, Amyraldists, Supralapsarians, &c., &c., he would not only run a chance of losing his labor and stupifying his pupils, but if he were to visit a neighbouring National School where points of Christian agreement rather than of unchristian warfare had been taught,—where the injunctions I have quoted from Tillotson (chap. xiii.), had been acted upon, and where the plain and simple precepts of Christianity had been expounded with reference more to charity than animosity, he would find that in that unity which he has railed at as a phantom, and which was the subject of the prayer of our Lord, there is much that may be expected to induce the faith which was found in the centurion and was unequalled in Israel.*

* The following scene from "PUNCH," may perhaps show Mr. Wallace the bearing of the question at issue:—

"Little Boy and Middle Aged Gentleman loquuntur. L. B. Please Papa, what are you reading? G. The speeches in Parliament, my man; all about educating the millions of poor little boys and girls who can't read or write, and don't know their A B C, nor the difference between right and wrong. L. B. Why don't their papas and mammas have them taught? G. Because they have no kind papas and mammas.

If Tillotson be considered an antiquated authority, on the same cogent style of reasoning which infers that the inculcation of contradictory opinions is consistent with our Saviour's prayer for unity, I must perhaps quote more modern names to satisfy the "cabalistic crew" who are so difficult to please with an ancient and simple standard. Lord Bacon and Locke constantly remind the clergy that in contesting on minor points they often go far towards forfeiting a claim for attention in greater matters. But these philosophers, I may be told, are laymen. Take then this sentence from a divine of whom it may be said that, where controversy was needful, he was the best champion for the truth in the day of danger.

"There is a something in our common faith in which all are agreed, and that somewhat is in my opinion a circumstance of such ineffable importance that I will never refuse the right hand of fellowship to him who acknowledges its truth—never think or speak of him with disrespect, nor with true pharisaical pride esteem myself more orthodox, more acceptable to my Redeemer than he is:—and that somewhat is Eternal Life, the gift of God through the Saviour." (*Bishop Watson of Llandaff.*)

Even this may perhaps be called antique, and therefore I

Some of their parents are too poor and some too careless and indifferent. L. B. Then papa, why don't the Queen order them to be sent to school? G. Hah! Her Majesty would be glad to do it, but Parliament can't agree to let her. L. B. Why not, papa? G. Why, you see, my dear, Parliament is made up of gentlemen that belong to different religions, and not one of them, except a few, will vote for any school unless his own religion is taught in it. So the poor little boys and girls can't be taught anything unless the sects can settle their differences. L. B. What differences, papa? G. I can't explain them to you; you couldn't understand them. They don't signify to little boys of your age. L. B. Then, papa, what do they signify to the poor little boys and girls? G. Eh! Why —— a —— just so —— that is —— never mind. You'll know one of these days. L. B. But what becomes of the poor boys and girls, papa? G. Why they plunder and steal, and then they are taken up and imprisoned and whipt, and by-and-bye transported, and at last some of them hanged—all because they have not been taught their duty, like you, and know no better. L. B. How cruel! If they don't know better, whose fault is it, papa? G. Nobody's in particular, it is because society can't agree. L. B. Who is society, papa? G. Society! Eh?—why, everybody, my boy. L. B. Then I think, papa, its the fault of everybody, and I think everybody is very wicked, and will never be happy, till he can make his mind up, and send the poor children to school. G. 'Pon my word, my boy, I believe you are right."

shall quote something still more more modern, which I find in a charge (delivered in England, by the Bishop of St. Asaph, a few years ago) not intended merely as a defence of National Education, but in support of true religion, and which the reader of Paley will remember that divine might be cited to attest :—

"We should avoid (in preaching) extraneous matter, and come to the point—to those great doctrines to which we shall be looking when we ourselves come to die. In all those points in which our Church differs from other bodies of Christians, I believe that we are right and they wrong. But I believe that what our people require most to be taught are those fundamental truths which are common to all Christians."

The Bishop then alludes to the duty of *catechizing* for which there is provision made by the 59th Canon of the Church enjoining public instruction (in Church every Sunday,) of the younger portion of his flock by every one who has care of a parish ; and here it will be by no means inappropriate for me to ask, whether this provision does not show that the avoidance of confusion between the functions of the clergyman and the schoolmaster is incidentally, if not directly laid down consistently with the general principles which I have already expatiated upon ?

"I do not believe," says the Bishop, "that we shall ever see vital Christianity diffused among our people, till we, the ministers of God's word, teach the children publicly the fundamentals of Christianity. * * * But if catechizing is to be effective, it must be directed to those points which children can fully understand,—to those essentials to which we ourselves shall be looking when we come to die. There are many points of doctrine which are in themselves very important. I do not wish to detract from their importance, but a dying Christian will be praying that God's Holy Spirit may be sanctifying him, and cleansing away his remaining imper-

fections—that our Heavenly Father may accept him for Christ's sake; and I believe that if we can implant these blessed truths in the minds and understandings of children, the seed so sown will, by God's mercy, in many cases bear fruit unto eternal life."

I trust that the foregoing extracts may be considered as conclusive against Mr. Wallace's position, that in Christianity there is no common ground for agreement except such an one as is so shocking that even a Deist might perhaps disown it.

I shall not be so uncharitable as to insinuate that those who have studied Christianity without finding in it any elements which embrace the whole family of mankind, have studied it to so little purpose that they can only be compared to worshippers who remain in the porch or vestibule and make many reverences, while others, regardless of mere forms, are imitating the publican whom the Pharisee contemned; but it is no more than logical to say, that if Mr. Wallace were to apply his mode of analysis to the material world he might readily prove that a horse of green color is really a parrot. "Parrots are green sometimes; horses are not so; but this creature is green, therefore it is a parrot; it is not a bay horse, it is not a black horse, it is not a chesnut one;—emphatically it is no horse at all, or if it have anything equine in it, it is such as a Lincolnshire cart-horse would be ashamed of."

Compare this with Mr. Wallace's logic, and judge whether the imitation is worse than the model.

If Church of England men, Presbyterians, Wesleyans, Roman Catholics, and Independents, &c., have no principles of agreement identifying them as professors of the Christian faith, they are in much worse plight than the world has ever known, or than charitable people are willing to believe. Only the bigots of each party forget the substance of the book, which they should learn from, but of which they

would rather discuss the question of binding or paging, or prefacing, than the reading and understanding.

Like men who live in a cask, they can see but through a bung-hole, and they wonder at the audacity of those who believe that the light is around and above them.

Mr. Wallace proceeds naively to say, that the National System is deceptive, and guilty of *imposition*. "They know that their religious teaching is deficient, they know it is sectarian, and how do you suppose they hope to supply the deficiency? Oh! They will tell you: We make full provision, and afford every facility for supplying anything that is deficient in our religious teaching. * * As far as the National System is concerned, its provision for this purpose is literally nothing else than an *an empty room.*"

The reader will bear in mind, that it is not known that the teaching in National Schools is insufficient and sectarian except to those who reject Tillotson, Whately, Arnold, and common sense; and it is also to be remembered, that the rules of the National Schools not only provide for the giving of as much religious instruction in school as the majority will accept, but also make it imperative that there shall be attached to the school, a class-room in which parents, pastors, or guardians may give or cause to be given to their wards, such religious instruction as the people and themselves refuse to accept in common; and this room is not the only provision for the purpose; for the rules state that one day in each week, or part of a day, (independently of Sunday,) is to be set apart for the religious instruction of the children; besides which it may be added, that the people and the Queen, by vote from the General Revenue and by sanction of the Royal Prerogative contribute funds in aid of those four sectarian principles which in their respective individualisms Mr. Wallace delights to consider as opponents of the "phantom Unity." Looked upon as parts of one great scheme, the support of clergymen with one part of the

public funds, and of schoolmasters with another part of it, are acts which no casuist has a right to dissever when discussing the subject of education.

Passing on from this general view, I find in Mr. W.'s pamphlet: "When I first spoke to Mr. Rusden on the subject of religious teaching, he replied: 'Oh! we leave that to the parents and pastors.' Now this is a most remarkable reply, and worthy of some consideration. What is this reply but a confession that Christian,—I do not say *religious*, but *Christian* teaching finds no place in their system? To use their own words *they leave it!* But to whom do they leave it? To parents and pastors. I might ask when they leave so much, why do they not leave all? However they leave it to parents. Now this is a perfect mockery. * * * Is it not a fact that the Bishop of Sydney and his clergy have declared against the National System? * Where then is the use of trying to support an ill-digested system by those who refuse to support it? * * Does it not stand to reason that every minister, no matter of what denomination, having a Denominational School under his charge, will oppose the National System which can only live by destroying his? * * And what right have they to leave the most important part of education to the *contingent assistance of opponents?*"

The remarkable reply quoted as emanating from me, it might, perhaps, have been advisable to make; but as it stands in the text the most remarkable part of it is that it was not made at all. If the precise words fell from my lips, they were not unaccompanied by other words of which the

* If this question is intended to convey an insinuation that the members of the Church of England, have declared against the National System, it must be allowed that the insinuation is infelicitously conveyed.

Distrust of their ordinaries' opinions in both the dioceses of Sydney and Newcastle, is indicated by the scanty attendance of the laity at numerous churches, at which it has been my lot to attend throughout New South Wales. On the other hand, so crowded are the places of worship in Victoria, so sincere is the general respect for the head of the Church of England and his clergy in it, that any thing like a hostile declaration might indeed be dreaded as an omen of defeat to the opposite party. Fortunately, charity forbids such a declaration.

non-quotation by Mr. Wallace may be natural or may be peculiar to such a logician as he, but is to say the least, calculated to mislead, and amounts to a distortion of what I really said. I remember our conversation; he complained that National Schools stopped short in religious instruction, and I said, "If in points on which parents and pastors themselves differ, we decline to force peculiarities upon the children, how can *you* blame us? If the parents, who have been permitted to bring the children into the world, and the pastors, who assert a right of indoctrination in respect of the revealed word of God, refuse to do their natural and asserted duty, how can Government interference do what is needed?" As Mr. Wallace gave me no satisfactory answer at the time,—as he declined to enter the lists of controversy before the public when it met to decide the question of Education in Brisbane, and as he has inadvertently or unfairly misquoted me behind my back, I have no alternative but to repeat my question.

To his interrogation as to our right to leave religious instruction *to the contingent assistance of opponents!* (the clergy! Heaven save the mark!) I would reply with another. What right have we to suppose that they who call themselves successors of the Apostles are averse to the preaching and spreading of the Gospel? We believe that no truly religious man is averse to the inculcation of religion, though it be in a National School, and we speculate upon no desirable aid from those who are not truly religious.

In a most questionable strain of Denominational logic, the lecturer then asserts that no child in a Denominational School need learn anything to which its parents object.

Pray, what sort of religious instruction will children receive under this rule? Mr. Wallace has already told us that the choice of a parent in the matter is a *perfect mockery!* Moreover, is it not palpable that this liberalism is intended to prop the schools rather than shelter the children? I do

not judge it myself:—I find that the Rev. Mr. Allwood, an anti-nationalist, but a charitable and conscientious one, thus speaks of the provision in question:—"It is not compulsory upon children attending Church of England Schools that they should attend the religious instruction of the School. *This regulation was passed by the Diocesan Committee, to meet an objection that was raised against the schools.*"*

I wish to know why Mr. Wallace blushes at a supposed want of religious instruction in a National School, if children in Denominational Schools are liable to get as little; and in some of which they learn what he himself thinks untrue. Does he blush only for form's sake? Is he so artificial as to do upon occasion, what he considers shocking when done by others? Is he like those followers of pleasure, who when a town was surprised, threw themselves frantically from the windows rather than be supposed capable of practices which in olden time and thereafter were their daily choice? Is it not an uneasy virtue which rails at others openly for what it hugs in secret?

But to resume:—The association of various children in one school, Mr. Wallace considers quite unlikely to lead to feelings of charity amongst sects; and he hints that the calling out of children from the school to the class-rooms in National Schools, is likely to cause "the words papist, heretic, and schismatic, to be bandied about in all directions:" and in this dégagé style of "you're another" kind of counter-charge, he "thinks he has said enough upon the ridiculous

* In proof of the unwillingness of Denominationalists to regulate the teaching of their schools, according to the conscientious requests of parents sending children to them, let me adduce this remarkable passage from the Report of the Denominational School Board of Victoria, for the year 1851.

"The Board were in hopes that an arrangement might have been made by which the religious instruction given in Denominational Schools might have been unimpaired, but the right of access to schools supported in part by public funds, would have been secured for Secular Education to those children who belonged to other denominations than that with which the school was connected; but as on enquiry they found that this would have given rise to conscientious objections, they have forborne to press the adoption of such a course."—(Victoria Votes and Proceedings, vol. ii.)

assertion of his opponents," who hope to smooth down sectarian differences by kindly associations.

He has said too much indeed; for he merely guessed in his speech. There is no proof that such words would be bandied about in any National School, but there is abundant proof that they have not been so used, and consequently we may infer that Mr. Wallace's charge falls to the ground or recoils upon himself.

If in his character as a Christian minister he will visit the Fort Street National School in Sydney, I believe that he will hear no such recriminations as he has apprehended, and as sometimes are hurled at one another by the pupils of neighbouring Denominational Schools.

If he wishes for more particular information, I can adduce an instance in which the scholars of two Sectarian Schools in a provincial town in New South Wales, became so hostile and excitable, that the respective teachers met to devise some means of preventing the precocious feuds of their young wards; the result of their conference being the establishment of a four-rail fence as a line of demarcation.

So much for what is termed a ridiculous assertion! When a man has a broken-kneed horse for sale, he is naturally disinclined to condescend to look so low as the blemish he suffers by even while he defends it.

Mr. Wallace then rates me for having shown how small a number of scholars were educated in Brisbane by Denominational and private Schools, there being according to his quotation of my words, 700 children at or close to the place, and only 230 at school.

This, he says, proves that there were many infants unable to go to school, and that many parents could not or would not send their children to school. He adds, that I should have deducted all who were too young, and those who could not be sent or were withheld from going to school, and I should then have found "*that there were just* 230 *left, the*

number at present educating, for any parent really wishing to have their children educated, could easily have found a school. It is not the lack of schools, but of a willing mind. And let me remind this meeting, that the Denominational System instructs 230 out of 700.* Pray how many does the National System teach? None. Let them blame others when they have done something themselves."

I must tell Mr. Wallace, that if there had been a really good school at Brisbane, there would have been educated many of those whom he excludes as infants; and that the parents would have been willing to send many more of their children to a good school than to inefficient ones.

Again, how did the Denominational System instruct in those schools in which the children, according to Mr. Wallace, took the active part of *educating*, and to which any singular *parent* could have sent *their* plural children? This question is solved by Mr. Wallace's own confession;—the schools did not allure the children whom the parents were unwilling to send. Only good schools attract scholars to the extent of any sacrifice on the part of a family. The naiveté of Mr. Wallace's challenge with respect to the number of National scholars is amusing, not confusing. Why did not Mr. Wallace lecture in 1750, instead of 1850? If he could not lecture before he was born, neither could the National System teach before it was founded. Nevertheless it may now teach more efficiently than the Denominational System. Long before the Copernican theory was understood, men reckoned with tolerable accuracy on the periods of day and night; but they now gaze with purer admiration on the revolving spheres of the heavens than they did under the regime of those who persecuted Galileo.

How could the National System educate children in New South Wales before money was voted, before a Board was formed, before books were procured, or before schools could be opened?

* Some of the 230 children were privately taught.

The inhabitants of Brisbane were asked in 1850, openly and without more delay than had been found inevitable, whether they would embrace the National System;—they said they would; and to upbraid them for their choice, because no good had previously come from the adopted system, is as unreasonable as to say that light from the sun is useless because it does not travel instantaneously to the earth, or that because some time elapsed between the emission of that light and its contact with the earth, therefore the light may be reviled for non-performance of its appointed duty.

After many such inconclusive and unjustifiable specimens of inference as I have quoted, the lecturer catachrestically recapitulates his assertions thus: "On the question of the Central Boards, Schoolmasters' salaries, Government aid, and School-charges, we are equal to our opponents. On the question of Books, Local Boards, Agents, and Training Schools, we beat them out of the field. With regard to secular instruction we are equal. With regard to religious instruction, I declared that National Schools cannot teach Christianity."

On the subject of Central Boards, I will only add here, that as the National Board is composed of men who meet to effect a common purpose, and as the Denominational Board meets only to divide monies which are devoted to contradictory purposes, the first Board has manifestly the advantage when looked upon as a means of centralization.

If Mr. Wallace should deny that the Denominational Board devotes money to contradictory purposes when it supports Church of England doctrine, Roman Catholic doctrine, Presbyterian doctrine, and Wesleyan dissent, I shall leave him the pleasing task of reconciling one doctrine to another, and finding what he calls the phantom Unity in the creeds of Ridley, Bonner, Calvin, and Wesley.

I should not be surprised to find that he thinks the task an easy one for *him*, but he must return the want of wonder to

the world, if they should conceive his logic to be insufficient for *them*.

If he should fail to prove that the Denominational Schools have one common and humane purpose in view, he will pardon me for imagining that their heterogeneous efforts derive less central support from the Denominational Board, than National Schools which *have a common purpose* can derive from their central controlling power.

Schoolmasters' salaries, Government aid, and School-charges, I have spoken of already; and have, I think, satisfactorily shown that Mr. Wallace's theory will be found correct only when he can prove that the number *four* is less than the number *one*.

The question of Books I need not here discuss, as I have touched upon it already, and have mentioned incidentally that the Denominational Board in this Colony long ago ceased to import any other ordinary class-books than those of the National Schools.

As to Local Boards, I should be culpable if I failed to take the opportunity of denying that the Denominational System has an advantage over the National. I believe that the latter has as efficient and zealous patrons as support the former, and it is easy to prove that their efforts are calculated to be far more serviceable. The National System in its Local Boards realizes the old English principle of local government much more thoroughly than the Denominational System can hope to do. That mongrel system of local representation which abounds in the communes of France, may be found in Denominational School Boards in perfection; the clergyman guides the Board, and the Bishop who controls the Board can also remove the teacher. Is it not a mockery to call this local representation and control? Admitting, which I do not, except for this argument's sake, that the Denominational System is the best, why is its excellence to be attributed falsely to local government when in each separate denomina-

tion it clearly springs from a central bureaucracy as irresponsible as that of the present tyranny of France?

If the Bishop of Newcastle and his clergymen in any parish determine to remove a Church of England teacher, I ask Mr. Wallace, if he doubts for a moment that the opposing efforts of a Local School Board would be futile? Cannot the Bishop strike off the name of any patron from the Board without assigning any reason for such erasure? And is not such a Local Board a sham? Elected merely by the fiat of one man, and removable by the same singular prerogative, how can such a body of men be adduced as being constituted in accordance with any of those principles of local election by the people, and local representation by voice and vote, which are at the root of all the greatness and individuality of that great family from which these Colonies may be proud to claim their descent?

I was unequivocally told in the presence of a Local Patron of a Denominational School, that if that Patron should become a Patron of a National School about to be formed (where no Denominational School then existed), the name of the offender would be struck from the roll of the Denominational Patrons.

I do not say *ex pede Herculem;* but I ask whether when one foot is cloven, men usually have doubts about the carcase and tail?

In the matter of agency, I shall not dispute with Mr. Wallace; he is one agent, I was another; and he may compare himself "to the winged Mercury new-lighted on a heaven-kissing hill," without fear of contradiction from me; but I am happy to say, that the superiority of the National System in the matter of Local Boards could afford to suffer without loss all the evils which can be ascribed to inferiority on the part of its agents.

The old English principle of election of the Local Patrons by the people, may well be looked upon as covering a multi-

tude of errors in detail of which the Central Board in Sydney, may rightly or wrongly be accused; and to that principle I impute the success which attended my own humble efforts in the cause of Education. The Board in Sydney well know that throughout my agency I never failed to ascribe my success *to the cordiality with which I was met by the people, and to their co-operation* in making every public meeting which I attended, an additional instance of approval of national and comprehensive schemes of Education.

The public joined in agency for the National System:—by their efforts only was it (so far as my personal experience goes,) sanctioned at every meeting convened for the purpose of discussing the matter; and in this point of view, i. e., public consent and co-operation, I may well ask Mr. Wallace how the public agency has failed?

Strenuous efforts were made to oppose the public will, but those efforts failed to obtain a public verdict, and in the case of Brisbane, Mr. Wallace must be a witness to this fact.

At the meeting in the Court-house in Brisbane, which he attended, but which for some reasons best known to himself he deserted before the votes were taken, the following motion was carried (said the Moreton Bay newspaper,) by a large majority.

"That this meeting views with satisfaction the prospect of the National System of Education being introduced into the district of Moreton Bay."

With such evidence before me, I may well say to Mr. Wallace, as Talbot said to the old French Countess, when she wished to avenge upon his person the successes of the English in France.

> "I laugh to see your ladyship so fond
> To think that you have aught but Talbot's shade
> Whereon to practise your severity.
> You are deceived, my substance is not here:
> For what you see is but the smallest part
> And least proportion of humanity."

If Mr. Wallace would only have waited for the announce-

ment of the public determination, I might have pursued the quotation thus (pointing to the meeting as Talbot pointed to his soldiers) :—

> "Are you now persuaded
> That Talbot is but shadow of himself?
> These are his substance, sinews, arms, and strength."

With such a confirmation of the cause I had in hand, I can assure my reverend antagonist, that I should have been no more annoyed at his despising my agency than Talbot was when the old lady despised him on account of his personal insignificance.

Turning now from the subject of agency,* let me recur to

* To give an idea of the opposition given in some parts of New South Wales, to the agency of the National Board, I will recite here a short anecdote. A resident in an inland town applied to me for information by letter on the subject of forming a National School. I replied to him. Many months afterwards, duty called me to the spot, and I of course undertook to assist the inhabitants in procuring a National School. The resident clergyman of the Church of England, assailed my mission with his voice from the pulpit. He did more; he repeatedly spoke of me as the advocate of an unholy cause, and issued a sort of mandate to those who did not, as well as those who did, belong to his own church, telling them not to receive me nor bid me God speed. "For," he cited Scripture to shew, "he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds." He also stated in the pulpit, that he would attend no public meeting —for public meetings were scenes of strife. Hearing of this, I lost no time in calling to assure the Propagandist (for he issued his mandate beyond the precincts of his own faith) that meetings convened to discuss Education were usually unanimous in favor of the National System, and therefore no strife need be apprehended. He was aware, he said, that the people were too much in favor of the National System, and he thought this arose from religious indifference; but he certainly would attend no public meeting. I then reminded him of Archbishop Whately's opinions, and said that with all due deference, I should like to know how he could reconcile an agreement with the Archbishop in religious faith, with his antagonism to the Archbishop respecting National Schools, and the placing of that antagonism on a religious basis. He replied, that he considered Whately's opinions in religion "unsound or questionable." I wished to know on what points the unsoundness rested. Whately was unsound on the doctrine of the Trinity. "How then," I replied, "can he officiate in the English Church?"—"Oh! there is no distinct confession necessary in the service." "What then," I said, "becomes of the Athanasian creed, or the fourth petition of the Litany?" —"Ah!" he replied, "I did not think of that, but nevertheless, I think him unsound, and the Bishop of —— does the same. I have no objection to my sentiments being known, and I must say, that religious instruction such as is contained in the National Schools books is worthless;—there is a paramount necessity to have the catechisms and teaching of the church."—"You are aware," I replied, "that we have the fullest of the gospels—St. Luke's—almost, if not quite, in extenso?" He would take my word for it, but did not know it. "Do you think the converts from Heathenism in the time of our Saviour, good ones or bad ones?"—This was a strange question. I thought it fair, and one which I was justified in repeating.—He hoped they were good ones. I asked again, "If they were not the best of converts, or likely to be so?"—He hoped so,

that of Training Schools. I find that Mr. Charles Cowper, in speaking of the Sydney Model National School, "admitted that it was a very good school, and that Mr. Wilkins, the master, was a very able man, and he only regretted that he had not come out as a master for Church of England Schools."

I have already remarked, that two at least of the five Training Schools vaunted of by Mr. Wallace, contained no teachers in training, and I shall therefore leave the evidence of Mr. Cowper to support my own opinion, that no other Training School in the Colony has ever deserved to be compared to the National School in Fort Street, Sydney.

Proceeding to Secular Instruction, in which Mr. Wallace says that the two systems are equal, I must deny his right to set up his unprotected assertion against the experience of other people.

Clouds of witnesses can be summoned to show that where Governments support comprehensive or National Education, the mass of the community attains a higher intellectual position than ever has fallen, or than is likely to fall to the lot of countries where sectarian Education is supported at the cost of the public treasury. The point does not need argument here, especially as I have already dwelt upon it, but I cannot help asking Mr. Wallace what country can be found, which, giving Sectarian Education, can vie with the New England States of America in the results of its Educational labors?

In Religious Instruction, Mr. Wallace declares, that National Schools cannot teach Christianity.

This declaration appears, to me, null and void when opposed to the celebrated Arnold's opinion that the Scripture

he dared to say they were. "Then," I replied, "on what grounds do you base your assertions, that, in order to make Christians, it is absolutely necessary to use certain formularies which our Saviour did not use, and that the teaching borrowed from His words is likely to want extenuation from you?"

My opponent contented himself with repeating his assertion of the insufficiency of the National books, and I contented myself with telling him that if he trusted in argument, to the repetition of an exploded fallacy, I could have no objection to confronting him at a public meeting, since his own confessions would be amply sufficient to prove my case.

Lessons give a clear and decisively Christian character to the system; and moreover, it seems a bold declaration that Christianity cannot be taught in schools to which the Gospel of St. Luke and the Acts of the Apostles with many religious lessons are daily furnished.

If St. Luke, in his Gospel and in his narrative of the Acts of the Apostles, does not inculcate Christianity, why does Mr. Wallace read lessons extracted from the writings of St. Luke? Are those lessons religious only when read in the Church of England or in a Denominational School? Are they irreligious when read in a National School?

Let me remind the learned lecturer of the saying of the Mexican Prelate concerning his flock: "*Son mui buenos Catolicos, pero mui malos Christianos.*" And let me ask, whether a man may not be a very good Denominationalist without being much of a Christian? As I have said before, he may depend upon it that pure Christianity is not to be found in those points only in which one sect differs from another.

But, how is it that in enumerating the advantages of the Denominational System, the subject of inspection has been slurred over or omitted? Year by year and more and more has public attention in Europe been directed to inspection, as the keystone of successful working of educational institutions, and yet I find Mr. Wallace silent upon it. I am not called upon to guess whether he had any of the reason of the serpent in his silence; but it must be admitted that the subject ought to be a sore one for a Denominationalist to touch.

As I have remarked in the 15th chapter, thorough inspection of schools is incompatible with the Denominational System, except on the supposition that four inspectors now (and perhaps fourteen hereafter) must be available for each School District; but under the National System, as each school has a common object, as the Central Board has the same, and as the Inspector is equally impelled, the duty of inspection is plain and straightforward, and no irregularity can

be apprehended. There are certain books from which teachers and inspectors are free to select; the public well knows what those books are, and can therefore demand from its servants an intelligible report as to the proficiency of its youthful community in Christianity, in morals, and secular learning. How can inspection be carried on in Denominational Schools on the supposition that only one inspector is appointed for any particular district? There are various kinds of schools, and varying religious instruction is given in each of them; but can one man be asked to superintend and report upon the chameleon-like object of acquisition, which teaches Roman Catholic children that Protestants run a daily risk of damnation, which reminds Protestants that their innocent ancestors have been burnt for conscience sake, and that therefore they must abhor the Pope, and which denounces as damnable the Erastianism of excluding the laity from everything but the penalties of excommunication?

Yet, as the boast made of Denominational Schools is that they are peculiarly religious, surely they must be inspected and reported upon, if it be intended to give an account of stewardship to the public who are liberal enough to supply funds;—or is it to be asserted that the people shall contribute large means, that the various hostile clergy shall administrate irresponsibly in respect of those means, and that as a sop to the undiscerning vulgar there shall be a paid Inspector, whose nominal duty shall be the inspection of schools, but who shall really be unable to examine and report upon their condition?

Let no friend of Education fail to weigh carefully the advantages which accrue to a General System of Education, from the practicability of a thorough and searching scrutiny on the part of an accredited Public School Inspector. Everything which is taught at the expense of the public, the public has an indefeasible right to supervise; they who pay

wages, may look after the workmen; and it is no small recommendation of the National System, that a candidate for the office of inspector or schoolmaster is not required as a preliminary measure to produce testimonials in proof of his possessing a certain amount of sectarian bigotry. The range of choice of a National Schoolmaster is only limited by the possession of Christian character and competent acquirements; but if a Presbyterian School requires a teacher, no proof of competency or Christian character will suffice to enable an Arnold or a Father Mathew to become the pedagogue.

Wanting the antipathies of a Habakkuk Mucklewrath, or perhaps a Caledonian twang, it is possible that even an angel would be looked upon as unfit to become a Denominational Teacher; and *mutatis mutandis*, the comparison will apply to each particular sect.

Before leaving Mr. Wallace's lecture, I ought perhaps to make some comment on this passage.

"I charge them (Nationalists) with shunning to declare to the children of this Colony, the whole Gospel of God on the paltry plea of economy."

This attack is based on the fact that the whole of the Bible is not read in National Schools; but it is not read in Denominational Schools, much less is it expounded in them.*

* An amusing instance may be cited to show how laxly that work is conducted in Denominational Schools, which is nevertheless held up as absolutely essential to render a National School sufficiently orthodox. The Rev. Robert Bell, in examination before the Lords of Parliament, stated that he considered the exclusion of the Bible in School-hours was an interdiction of the sacred book. "Where were you educated yourself? By my father.—Not at a public school? It is a public school - an endowed school.—In school-hours were you in the habit of using the Bible every day? Yes; not every day.—At any particular time or at any indifferently? We generally had a fixed time.—Were there any Roman Catholics at your father's school? At different times.—Were they required to attend these religious exercises? They attended prayer; they were not required to attend the reading and explanation of the Bible.—The reading of the Bible took place generally you say in the middle of the day, and then the Roman Catholics were not required to attend? No.—It was imperative on the others? It was.—You did not consider the Word of God as being excluded from that school? No, I did not; but I consider a private school and a private arrangement as upon a different footing from a National System of instruction.—Then you think that that would be a total exclusion from a school that was under a National System which might not be called a total exclusion under a private

Neither is it read even in the whole annual services of the Church of England; yet who ever thought this a plea for charging that Church with shunning to declare the whole Gospel? If Mr. Wallace was not aware that the exposition of the whole Bible is not made by his Church, he will now perhaps qualify his anathema against National Schools;—if he was aware of the fact I refer to, he need scarcely be informed that to frame a complaint, of irreligion in National Schools, in terms which are applicable to Church Schools and to the Church itself, is so transparent an artifice that it will avail him nothing. I do not believe that it is a fit subject of complaint that the whole of the Bible is left unread in Denominational Schools. The talented Rev. H. Moseley, thus writes on the subject of making the Sacred Volume a mere class-book.

"Having myself examined some thousands of children, whose earlier Scriptural Education is comprised in thus learning to read (mechanically) from the Scriptures, I can state as the result of my experience, that the entire school occupation of the child may have been the perusal of the Scriptures, and yet no elementary Scriptural truths be stored up in his mind, and the child be found as utterly unacquainted with the subject matter of their simplest narrative portions as with their fundamental doctrines. Nevertheless, the power to read them fluently may have been acquired, together with a prompt recognition of their peculiar forms of expression. and an abundant familiarity with their language—a familiarity which, whilst it is made to serve no useful purpose of instruction, tends, it is to be feared, to exclude from the child's mind a due sense of their authority, to obliterate the perception of those sanctions under which they have

establishment? I should say that that might be admitted in a private establishment which was not admissible in a national one."

In justice to the school in which the reverend gentleman was taught, it is fair to add, that at none of the great schools or colleges in England, nor even in the University of Dublin, is the vernacular Bible a class-book.

been given, and to diminish the awe with which it is not less natural than it is necessary that they should be received."

Leaving Mr. Wallace to confute the superior logic of his senior in the Church, let me say one or two words, before parting, on the following extraordinary assertion in his lecture.

"I for my part would sooner send my child to the Presbyterians, the Wesleyans, or the Romanists, than to a National School."

For the purpose of my argument, I need not here allege that the Roman Catholics are in error in those matters in which they hold doctrines adverse to the Church of England; but when I reflect that Mr. Wallace has adduced no instance of erroneous doctrine inculcated in National Schools, and that he has solemnly subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles, of which at least a fourth part is directed against what are called Romish errors, I own that I am aghast at reading such an assertion emanating from such a quarter.

It is equivalent to saying, that though the reverend lecturer has publicly and solemnly sworn that the doctrines of Popery are damnable, and though he knows that they are taught in Roman Catholic Schools, he would rather support such schools than those which are founded under the express sanction of the Queen, whose authority the first Canon of his Church binds him to consider, under God, supreme upon earth. To prefer to teach what is hostile to the Church, rather than what is not hostile to it, is certainly a choice which may be called Sectarian;—but how it can be proved Christian, loyal, manly, or honest, I am at a loss to divine. And when in defence of the Sectarian Schools one plea set up is the fact that no child is compelled to receive sectarian instruction, well may it be asked why the public benevolence should be dissipated and perverted among many Sectarian Schools rather than devoted to one comprehensive foundation?

As to Mr. Wallace's denial that clergymen can be ex-

pected to go to National Schools to visit their flocks, I trust he is singular in his announcement; and I doubt if any man could be found who could lay his hand on his heart and assert, that any of the apostles, except Judas, would have eschewed such an opportunity of strengthening the faith. I know not if the thorough doctrine of apostolical descent, as believed by some persons, is acknowledged by Mr. Wallace; but if it be, I should imagine that he will allow that even a lineal, combined with an apostolical succession from St. John himself, would be of little service to one unwilling to adopt the practices of his holy progenitor.

If the messengers of the Prince of Peace should refuse to carry his message, would they not be wilfully invalidating the charter under which they claim the respect of mankind? And against whom should the defeasance be charged?

The Right Rev. Dr. John Jebb, Bishop of Limerick, speaking of the establishment of National Schools in Ireland, said:—

"Let Parish Schools be popularized on the modern latitudinarian system, and there will be no Church:—in Ireland, education and all vestiges of the established faith will be lost in

> Another shape,
> If shape it may be called that shape has none,
> Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb,

a nondescript monster, far better qualified to promote the cause of democracy and infidelity, than either to afford popular satisfaction or advance national civilization; a phantom, indeed," &c.

In 1839, the Bishop of Australia raked up this passage in argument against Sir George Gipps, little knowing at the time, it may be presumed, that a third-rate use of the quotation would be made in later days, after the advance of the National System might have been reasonably supposed a conclusive condemnation of the zeal of Dr. Jebb and his acrimonious comparison.

Mr. Wallace produces the Miltonic passage, and ridden by the nightmare of extravagant misconception, rushes on as reckless of his footing as Tam O'Shanter's Maggie, and as heedless of circumstances as an irreverential devotee, who, flying from a pursuer, scatters around him the furniture of the temple in which he is a servitor.

"Before this shadowy thing (the National System, to wit), the trembling form of Christianity appears. Christians, it cries, are you agreed? No; they answer. Plunge then goes the dart, and doctrine after doctrine falls. Do you agree on the Sacraments? No! Plunge goes the dart. On the Mass? No! On the Trinity? No! On the Divinity of our Lord? No! Plunge goes the dart, and the form of this shadowy system stands hideous and alone amidst the ruins of Christianity."

I have frequently been asked why I did not answer Mr. Wallace's pamphlet? I must confess that in this instance I do not feel called upon to bandy words which involve an appearance of disrespect to religious mysteries. Our ancestors formerly caused Mysteries to be acted before them, and the following lines concerning those at Chester in the 13th century, seem apropos to Mr. Wallace's language:—

> The Olde and Newe Testament with lively comforte;
> Intermingling therewith only to make sporte,
> Some things not warranted by any writt
> Which to glad the hearers he would men to take yt.

I have attempted to give satisfactory answers to several questions which the reverend lecturer asked, and I hope I have been successful;—it is now perhaps admissible to propose a counter-question to which I have never received a candid answer that was satisfactory on the Denominational side, or an answer that had the semblance of being satisfactory, which was at the same time candid.

The question is:—Can the Denominational System be reconciled with Truth?

If it cannot be so reconciled, it is manifestly un-Christian,

and the following syllogism must, I think, be admitted as stating the case fairly both in fact, and in logic.

The inculcation of contradictory principles is incompatible with Truth.

The Denominational System inculcates contradictory principles.

Therefore it is incompatible with Truth.

To deny the major premiss is to assert a metaphysical as well as a physical impossibility, viz., that a thing can be one thing and another thing at the same time; and by this reasoning National Schools may be proved to be Denominational, and therefore unexceptionable in Mr. Wallace's eyes. To deny the minor is to assert that Presbyterianism, Wesleyanism, and Roman Catholicism, are not different from the doctrines of the Church of England; and in this case, why should schools of two or more denominations demand support?

To admit the premises and reject the conclusion, is, without doubt, within the province of more than one Denominationalist whom it has been my fortune to meet, but it cannot be denied that such antagonists voluntarily eject themselves from the pale of reason.

Commending the above simple statement to the good sense of all into whose hands this work may fall, and beseeching those who have any influence on their social circles, to use their interest in restraining the appropriation of a public fund to contradictory uses, I now leave Mr. Wallace's lecture, merely reminding him that if any of the people desire to use part of their money antagonistically, there is no occasion for the State to collect such money; public funds being collected for public purposes only, by the State, in its capacity as general trustee.

The late Roman Catholic Primate in Ireland, Dr. Crolly, was an advocate of National Schools. The Prelate who succeeded him, is an antagonist of them; and in 1851, pub-

lished a letter to his clergy in the Archdiocese of Armagh, and set forth therein the following notable criticism upon a certain passage in the Gospel of St. Matthew, from which he deduced the conclusion, that men have no right to learn anything except from the clergy; meaning, of course, the clergy of the Church of Rome.

The passage is a remarkable one, and, as I think it has been remarkably perverted by more than one controversialist, I shall transcribe it in full: "Go ye therefore and teach (μαθητευσατε) all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Teaching (διδασκοντες) them to observe all things* whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo! I am with you alway even unto the end of the world." Matthew xxviii. 12, 20.

"The right we enjoy," says Dr. Cullen, "and the obligation under which we are placed, of attending to the education of youth, are derived from the Divine Commission by which we exercise our spiritual ministry. This commission which was given to the apostles in the following words—Going, therefore, teach ye all nations, &c., (Matthew xxviii. 19, 20,) evidently includes the duty of teaching all the dogmas of faith as well as all the principles of morality; whatever regards the nature, attributes, and moral government of the Deity, as well as whatever concerns the conscience of man in his individual capacity or numerous social relations. All this is directly contained in the Divine Commission. But the objects thus indicated must have a direct or indirect connection with the various departments of human knowledge, and the exercise of

* Mr. Wallace's misconception of this passage scarcely deserves notice in the text, but it may be worth while to expose it in a foot note. "Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. If then," he adds, "the National System does not teach all things, it does not teach Christianity." But the Apostles themselves were not commanded to teach more than those things which the Saviour had enjoined; and there is no passage in Scriptu e which countenances the supposition that the regulation of schools was demitted even to the Apostles. Moreover, our Saviour promised to be with them in their teaching throughout all time: whereas there certainly was no divine aid given to the clergy in persecuting the Copernicans; from which we may infer that the clergy mistook their vocation in the matter, seeing that they did persecute the lovers of the truth in astronomy.

the Divine Commission must consequently extend to the supervision and control of every system of education proposed or instituted for the children of the Roman Catholic Church," &c., &c.

Dr. Cullen has made a most ungrounded use of the word *teach*, which in his, and in the Church of England version, is used in translating the word μαθητευσατε. He probably knows as well as any one else that the purport of the passage is neither more nor less than *make disciples of all nations;* the disciples themselves throughout the New Testament being called μαθηται, and none of them having been indoctrinated at schools in religious matters. They being, in fact, such converts as they were enjoined to make, the mode of inculcation required was manifestly not foreign to that by which they had themselves profited. But the whole context of the passage proves that they were pointedly told to teach certain things only; they were to make disciples of (i. e., to teach Christianity to) all nations (then ignorant of Revelation), and to baptize them.

The commission of the apostles to *teach*, was therefore bounded by the express limitation, "whatsoever I have commanded you:" and it can not only be proved that the Saviour ordained that secular matters should be distinct from spiritual, that his kingdom should not be of this world, that there should be rendered unto Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, but it can be established, that when the Church sought to regulate the course of scientific research, its edicts were egregiously false, and were such as no one now even attempts to defend. Witness the rescript, (now lying before me, by which Galileo was condemned in the 17th century,) in a part of which the Inquisition declares that "the two propositions of the stability of the sun and the motion of the earth were *qualified by the theological qualifiers* as follows: First, the proposition that the sun is in the centre of the world, and immoveable from its place, is absurd, philosophi-

cally false and formally heretical, because it is expressly contrary to the Holy Scripture: Secondly, the proposition that the earth is not the centre of the world nor immoveable, but that it moves, and also with a diurnal rotation, is also absurd, philosophically false and, theologically considered, at least erroneous in faith." The signatures of seven Cardinals are attached to this important astronomical announcement, and Dr. Cullen must now confess that those Cardinals misinterpreted Scripture, or he must assert that the world has no diurnal rotation.

In the latter case, no one will believe him; in the former, he will give ample grounds for concluding that even Cardinals are not infallible in the interpretation of Scripture.

In any case I invite criticism upon the passage, by which I am confident that the teaching enjoined expressly by the word διδασκοντες is limited to the scope of our Saviour's own instructions previously given; and it is surely equally manifest that the use of the word μαθητευσατε (make disciples of) conveyed no wider meaning. How make disciples of Christ by teaching that which he did not enjoin?

But it is worth while to examine the mode in which the disciples themselves acted in pursuance of the Divine command. We are especially told that Timothy was looked upon as a disciple of unfeigned faith, such as was first in his grandmother Lois, and his mother Eunice; we learn also that St. Paul prayed that Timothy would hold fast the form of sound words which he had heard from Paul himself (2 Tim. i. 13,) and further, that from a child Timothy had known the Holy Scriptures, which were able to make him wise unto salvation (iii. 15).

Thus we see that opportunities of religious instruction were not looked upon as inadequate, by St. Paul, in those days in which public schools were guided by the heathen citizens of Imperial Rome:—is any man now wiser than St. Paul?

But it is not only by Timothy's case that the meaning

ascribed by Dr. Cullen to the injunction of our Saviour can be proved erroneous; he cannot find that, for centuries, the Christian Church aspired to interfere with the Imperial Schools; and this want of interference he must make out to have been culpable in the Apostles and the Primitive Christians, or he must confess that as they acted correctly, so, to imitate their example in modern times would be correct also. Besides, we find in the 13th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, that the word "teachers" (διδασκαλους) is used in allusion to St. Paul and others who were at Antioch, and we find therefore that the writer of the Acts was of opinion that some of the disciples had already obeyed the injunction that they should become *teachers*:—yet we are well aware that they had not meddled with public schools. But Dr. Cullen will probably admit, that in olden times the teaching of the Church was hostile to truth in physics:—that before the days of Torricelli, the now simple theory of atmospheric pressure was misunderstood, and a barbarous absurdity taught in lieu of it by those very teachers whom he wishes us to look upon as deputed to *teach all things, having a direct or indireet connection with the various departments of human knowledge;** and if he will be so good as to abstract from the sum of human knowledge all that has been acquired and inculcated by the labors of laymen, he will be able to form a just notion of the amount of learning and civilization from which his principles would debar the world. Who was it that dethroned the falsely framed categories of Aristotle? Who explored the New World? Who invented printing? Who discovered the uses of steam? Who taught men to handle the fiery electric current as a pliant thread, swift to do the bidding of its puny but reason-impelled lord? Who expounded the laws of gravitation and followed the stars in their course? Who—but breath

* If the clergy are to teach everything, there is clearly no need of schoolmasters at all.

would be wanting to enable me to enumerate all the temporal and intellectual advantages which laymen have bestowed upon their fellow-creatures,—let Dr. Cullen match them with the deeds of churchmen if he can. Why, even Sunday Schools are the fruit of a layman's labor!

This argument does not make light of the Divine promise, that the Saviour would be with his followers even to the end of the world;—his presence is promised to those who teach what he taught; not to those who would bind down the Word of God within the narrow confinement of their own misconception of his works.

"The school of Paracelsus," says Lord Bacon, "and some others that have pretended to find the truth of all natural philosophy in the Scriptures, is wide of the mark in scandalizing and traducing all other philosophy as heathenish and profane. There is no such enmity between God's word and his works; neither do they give honor to the Scriptures, but much imbase them; for, to seek heaven and earth in the Word of God (whereof it is said, heaven and earth shall pass away, but my word shall not pass away), is to seek temporary things amongst eternal; and as to seek divinity in philosophy is to seek the living amongst the dead, so to seek philosophy in divinity is to seek the dead amongst the living."*

*An amusing instance of the obliquity of vision or judgment of those who confuse secular with spiritual functions, is furnished by Dr. Newman, celebrated rather for a change of opinions than for his opinions themselves. He declares "I end then as I began: either there is no God, or that there is no University which ignores him. And since a God there is, I charge the mixed education of the day with an unphilosophical exclusiveness, and I demand the emancipation of theology."

Set against this antithetical complaint against humanity, because it is becoming wise enough and Scriptural enough to strive no longer to force the greater within the less, and bind heavenly things with the authority of Cæsar, the massive wisdom of Bacon cited in the text, renders comment almost needless.

How in the same breath a State can be called upon to devote its funds to the inculcation of religious dogmata, and adjured to "emancipate theology," may best be explained in the dreamy language which pervades Dr. Newman's works at large; and how civil and religious liberty can be even comparatively complete if the Roman Catholic creed be selected for indoctrination, nothing but the same disjointed logic can declare; but to how small an extent a system, which in one sentence is denounced for laisser-faire, and in the next for tyranny, can suffer by Dr. Newman's tirade,

The fact that Churchmen taught erroneously in physical science, seems a sufficient proof that they had deserted that ground upon which the continuance of Divine aid was pledged to them;—what new revelation can be produced to show that they can now claim control on points in which they have already gone wrong?—If they misinterpreted the Almighty's works two centuries ago, where is their prescriptive charter against error now? Surely they held no Divine Commission to do wrong during many centuries, and their previous misdeeds compose no claim at this date for implicit obedience in secular matters on the part of the laity.

But, moreover, since the Apostles themselves abstained from interfering with secular education, and the Primitive

I trust even he may be made to perceive, whose faith in things unseen and mysterious, has absorbed his faculties so far as to render them obtuse to things which are open and declared.

It cannot be called irreverent or ultra-Protestant to speak thus of Dr. Newman,—at present he is a divided property:—though now a Roman Catholic so called, he was long a Protestant, and as he has confessed that, while nominally Protestant, he laboured for Rome, we may infer that until more years shall have been served by him under his new faith than his old, it cannot be predicated of him, that he is not still a Protestant. If during thirty years he professed Protestantism, it is plain that only something more than thirty years apostacy can justify a belief that he is "really, truly, now a Turk," and long ere that date shall have arrived, the prurient palate of fanaticism on both sides of the golden mean of Christianity will have adopted new "cavalieri servente."

Meantime, he who with the same facts before him, after many years preaching of one doctrine, jumps Jim Crow and preaches an opposite one, shows a shamelessness of principle or an absence of judgment which nothing but inordinate vanity or irresponsible fatuity can explain or excuse, and which loudly demands that to no such weathercocks of the times shall the State commit the universal teaching of its youth; even though the slavery of Truth be called for on the solemnly false plea that only thus can Theology be emancipated.

One of the worthy Doctor's reasons for wishing that Education could be placed entirely under the control of the Clergy is perhaps infelicitously worded;

"Amidst the overwhelming difficulties of his position, the most Protestant of Statesmen will be sorely tempted, in disparagement of his cherished principles, to make a passionate wish that the people he has to govern, could have, I will not say with the Imperial tyrant, one neck, but what is equally impossible, one private judgment."

Now there are many Roman Catholics, not new but constant in their faith, who are Christian enough to disown the atrocities performed in the name of Christianity by the Inquisition, in the Vaudois, and on St. Bartholomew's day; but as Dr. Newman is possessed with a mediæval fury which is checked by no obstacle, and can see only celestial operations amid the darkest ages of the Church, it is, to say the least, a ticklish suggestion for him to make, that it would be convenient if Protestants had one conscience, if not one neck, at his or his contemporaries' mercy.

Church followed their example, is it not manifest that they knew and respected the scope of their commission? And as those who attempted to improve upon apostolical practice went egregiously astray in secular matters, may it not be argued that the Apostles after all were those who obeyed their Divine Master's behest?

Was a command given to them which they did not understand? Or is it a fact that, in the injunction to teach all things which they had been commanded, the prescribed duty was not secular but religious? Finally, as physical knowledge was then much mixed with error, or was scarcely nascent, and as therefore without direct inspiration the Apostles would have been unable to teach physical truth, is it not clear that the commandment given to them applied to their Master's precepts, and that they obeyed him faithfully?

It would have been miraculous if the Disciples had become suddenly imbued with all physical knowledge, but under the circumstances of their calling, it would have been by no means incredible;—but for Dr. Cullen to assert in the nineteenth century, that he knows better than they, what they were told to do, is an assumption, I must say, no less marvellous than irreverent, and by no means likely to be confided in. The command has not been changed during eighteen centuries;—why put a construction upon it, which we find the practice of the Apostles has repudiated?

Naively enough, Dr. Cullen proceeds to quote opinions from Lord John Russell and others, that religious Education is essential; and the Reverend Prelate says, "We should admit no system which would inscribe Education without religion; that is, without true religion, on its banners." Precisely so,—but does Dr. Cullen agree with Lord John Russell as to the term *true religion?* It is one thing to acknowledge that education without religion is inferior to education with it, and another thing to define determinately what amount of aid the public purse shall disburse to the

people at large in affording religious education;—if Lord John Russell differs from Dr. Cullen on the last proposition, the agreement on the first point does not solve the entire question. Religion,—true religion—is one; and Truth is one;—but in religious opinions Lord John and the Doctor are two; on cross-examination, therefore, Lord John Russell, the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Mahon, and Sir Robert Peel, come forward as witnesses against Dr. Cullen, rather than in his favor. To select an instance of their concord with him upon an abstract point, and to ignore the fact that they oppose him in the subject under consideration may pass for deception, cleverness, diplomacy, or dogmatism, but cannot pass muster as reason.

But statesmen need not complain that their words undergo perversion; see how the Scripture itself is tortured in the following quotation, which Dr. Cullen admiringly extracts from a continental charge of Romish Bishops. "With words full of blasphemy they cry, we will not allow the little ones to come to Jesus Christ—we forbid it. Such is the answer which they give to the tender invitation of the God-made man. Consider now by what authority your Bishops should be guided in these circumstances, if they do not wish to oppress their souls with the mill-stones of eternal damnation, with which Jesus Christ threatens those who impede the little ones from coming to him." *

* Sir Charles Lyell thus describes and comments on the schools in one of the American States, in 1845:—

Population.	Pupils in		Total Pupils.	Total Schools.	Total sum received by School Trustees.
	Public Schools.	Private Schools, &c.			
2,604,495	742,433	31,240 28,227	807,200	11,003	1,191,697 dollars, or £25,000

All these eleven thousand schools have been organized on what has been styled in England even by respectable members of the House of Commons, the infidel or Godless plan, which generally means nothing more than that they are not under the

I need scarcely say, that no Government attempts to forbid the access of children to the ministers of religion;—and Dr. Cullen unhappily attempts to distort a desire to spend public money for a general purpose, into a blasphemous resolution to put a stop to a process *which that public purpose does not interfere with.* In the cause of public education its advocates can good humoredly put up with a great deal of misrepresentation and abuse; and if it be my fate to be accused of blasphemy because I wish to see public principle preserved, and public money economized, I shall content myself with saying with the Rev. Sydney Smith, that my antagonists are scarcely wise when in claiming as apostolical privileges which the Apostles never mentioned, they are betrayed into the use of language which is only so far apostolical as to savour of a trafficking in fish.

Dr. Cullen goes on to say that, "ever since the State in France undertook to instruct the people and invaded the domain of the Church, that great country has been deluged with impiety and vice of every kind;" but unless he can claim an apostolical right to pervert history, this assertion is contrary to fact.

The bouleversement of religion and morality in France, took place at the close of a rigid ecclesiastical but debauched

management of the clergy. The Roman Catholic Bishops and Priests command a vast number of votes at the elections in New York, yet they failed in 1842 to get into their exclusive control that part of the public school money which might fairly be considered as applicable to the teaching of children of their own Denomination. Their efforts, however, though fortunately defeated, were attended by some beneficial results. It is obviously the duty of every Government which establishes a National System of secular Education, to see that no books are used in the schools containing sectarian views, or in which the peculiar views of any sect are treated with marked contempt. The Roman Catholics complained that some of the works put into the hands of children, especially those relating to English History, were written with a strong Protestant bias, and that while the superstitions of Popery, and the bigotry of Bloody Mary were pointedly dwelt upon, the persecutions endured by Romanists at the hands of Protestant rulers were overlooked, or slightly glanced at. The expunging of such passages both in the State of New York and in New England, must have a wholesome tendency to lessen sectarian bitterness, which if imbibed at an early age is so difficult to eradicate; and children thus educated will grow up less prejudiced, and more truly Christian in spirit than if the Romish or any other clergy had been permitted to obtain the sole and separate training of their minds.

regimen of the Court, in which many of the clerical orders shared.

In 1787, the revenues of the clerical orders were stated at 178,000,000 livres,* and the secular clergy, monks, nuns, and inferior ministers, were 460,078 in number; and as the State took no charge of Education until after the horrors of the Revolution, it is more reasonable to attribute the crimes of 1792 to the laches of the clergy than to the interference of the State, since all the actors in the Revolution were pupils in the era of Church domination.

But, not satisfied with setting his lance in rest against the general belief concerning the causes of the French Revolution, Dr. Cullen proceeds to deny that the bulk of the Americans in modern times are worthy exponents of American feelings.

"I have a letter before me," he writes, "written by a learned and respected Prelate in the United States, which bears testimony to the fatal effects of the mode of Education in America. [Our own colleges have become to a great extent nuisances and plague spots on the Church in the United States, in consequence of persons of every religion being admitted to them, and the discipline being brought down to suit them to such a mixture. There are many here who would consider it a blessing if all such colleges were swept off the face of the land.] Such, then, continues Dr. Cullen, is the experience of other countries upon the system of Education which is offered to us as a boon, &c., &c." †

Now seeing that all intelligent travellers who visit America, report admiringly concerning her Public Schools, seeing that Webster's oration (already quoted in the fifth chapter,) precisely selects for praise that feature of comprehensiveness which Dr. Cullen's friend denounces; seeing that Lord Car-

* I am not aware that any account states the revenue at a less sum than 130,000,000 livres; and I do not know that Laborde (whom I quote), is in error.

† Nothing strikes a foreigner on his arrival in America more forcibly than the regard to the Sabbath.—(De Tocqueville, a Roman Catholic.)

lisle, Sir Charles Lyell, Mr. Mackay, and a host of observers, not only concur in admiring the American Educational establishments, but are unanimous in recording the affection with which the Americans themselves regard them, and seeing that Judge Story is one of those Americans, I must say that it is a daring insouciance which has prompted Dr. Cullen to ignore the general belief, or to condemn it on the testimony of one man,* who be it remarked, merely says *there are many here* who would be glad if such colleges were swept from the face of the earth. Did Dr. Cullen know that there were very many more who disagreed with his Sir Oracle? If he did not, he has much to read; if he did, he has nothing to stand upon.

It is but a tame sort of logic to pervert one man's slaughterous aspirations into the presumed wishes of a whole people: why not speak boldly out with the woman of Juvenal,

Sic volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas?

Fortunately the day has gone by when in any British, or British-descended community, the will of one man could sweep

* Of the Free Schools which they have founded, and the plan of Education adopted by them for the children of all sects and stations in society, the people of New England feel justly proud, for it is the most original thing which America has yet produced. The causes of their extraordinary success and recent progress well deserve more attention than they have received from foreigners; especially as it seems singular at first sight and almost paradoxical that a Commonwealth founded by the Puritans whom we are accustomed to regard as the enemies of polite literature and science, should now take so prominent a lead as the patrons of both; or that a sect which was so prone to bibliolatry that they took their pattern and model of civil government and even their judicial code from the Old Testament, who carried their theory of the union of Church and State so far as to refuse the civil franchise to all who were not in full communion with the Church, and who persecuted for a time non-conformists even to the death;—should nevertheless have set an example to the world of religious toleration, and have been the first to establish schools for popular Education, open to the children of all denominations, Romanist, Protestant, and Jew. * * * The Roman Catholics have made some vigorous efforts to get the exclusive management of a portion of the school funds into their own hands, and one at least of the Protestant sects has openly avowed its sympathy in the movement. But they have failed from the extreme difficulty of organizing a combined effort where the leaders of a great variety of rival denominations are jealous of one another; and fortunately the clergy are becoming more and more convinced that where the Education of the million has been carried farthest, the people are most regular in their attendance of public worship, most zealous in defence of theological opinions, and most liberal in contributing funds for the support of their pastors and the building of churches.—(Sir Charles Lyell.)

from the face of the earth the object of a people's affection. But Dr. Cullen follows up his blow with another of similarly equivocal advantage :—

"Is it not then evident that the wisdom of the decisions of Rome is confirmed by the sad history of systems of Education throughout the world, and by the testimony of all nations?"

In some such manner as this wisdom is confirmed, must the rotation of the earth have been affected by the hostile sentence of the Inquisition; nevertheless the earth continues to revolve, and the human mind advances.

I now come to a passage in which the Right Rev. Prelate handles with his usual skill, a weapon with which he deals stalwart blows destructive to the principles of Denominational Education as it exists in this Colony :—

"We are aware, Reverend Brethren, that the religious equality on which the Queen's Colleges are supposed to be based, has been urged by some of their advocates as one of the securities for faith and morals, as well as a special recommendation to popular favor. I will not dwell at present on the scepticism and indifference which have been the natural fruits of the principle wherever the experiment has been tried, of placing truth and falsehood on an equal basis."

Being myself opposed to the Denominational principle of entrusting portions of a common fund to the polemical dissipation of various sects, I have nothing to urge against Dr. Cullen's imputation that scepticism and indifference are the fruits of such economy, and I therefore gladly leave the Right Rev. champion to the tender mercies of the supporters of the Denominational System.

Bidding Dr. Cullen farewell, and regretting that this chapter has grown to so tedious a length, I shall now place on record a few sentiments which I heard delivered from a pulpit in New South Wales :—premising that the preacher was and is a personal friend of my own, I shall of course be acquitted of any other motive than a desire to show how

utterly ignorant the antagonists of the National System have been pleased to remain, while denouncing in no measured terms the innocent object of their assaults.

After a gentle exordium to the effect that National Schools have been the work of the Devil, who is desirous to use them in counteracting the disadvantages which might accrue to infidelity from the invention of printing; after stating that children are desperately wicked by nature, (and having stated this, but small knowledge of facts was needful to warn the preacher that, as in Denominationally educated countries children are for the most part ignorant, therefore Denominational Education is a failure, and cannot lead to conversion of the depraved hearts of the mass,) and adding that they should be sent to National Schools by those parents who desire to make their offspring infidels;—after stating that though invited to a National School to give religious instruction, he would not set foot within its walls;—the preacher warmed in his zeal so much as to assert that *everything beyond mere natural religion was expressly excluded* (from National Schools) *as an enemy to the cause of Education!!!* And then invoking the memory of George III., he ejaculated that that pious king would now perhaps be shocked to find persons in high places (the Queen, to wit!) encouraging a system which teaches people to forget the Bible, and which must naturally lead to the breaking of laws, and the bringing down of grey hairs of parents with sorrow to the grave.

Now as I was known to the preacher, as I had told him that the Ordinary Lesson Books used in National Schools abounded with references to Scripture, and that the Gospel of St. Luke and Acts of the Apostles were read in simple language, nearly if not quite in extenso, I must confess that I was grieved to hear him pronounce the sentence which implies that Revelation is excluded from National Schools. A thorough secular system might, perhaps, come within his

condemnation; but he was alluding specially and by name to the Fort Street Model National School in Sydney.

On my asking him whether he considered it fair to assert that only National Religion is contained in the Gospel of St. Luke, and in one of the Lesson Books entitled "Lessons on the Truth of Christianity," he confessed that they might contain something more, but he urged that in another part of his sermon he had admitted that a few religious phrases were allowed to be interpolated in the schools;—whereupon it seemed quite proper to allege in all good humour, what I believe no one can reasonably deny, that if in one part of the sermon he contradicted what was said in another, the value of his diatribe was swept away; and if he had not specifically contradicted the proposition that the Scripture Lesson Books (containing St. Luke and the Acts), are parts of natural religion, he had by that proposition, proved himself ignorant not only of National Education, but of something more.

The lover of Parliamentary Papers may have noticed that in the examination of the Bishop of Sydney before the Legislative Council Committee in New South Wales, in 1844, the following question and answer may be found:—

"Suppose none could come to be taught in your fashion, would you therefore say that you would not teach at all? I would, indeed."

Swift somewhere says, that the ancient stoical scheme of supplying our wants by lopping off our desires, is like cutting off our feet when we want shoes; and his Lordship's resolution seems to savour of the same larder,—with this difference, that the stoics began their denial with themselves, while the Bishop's denial is to the children of the poor.

By the same principle we may refuse to allow a child to begin to eat, lest in after life he should meet with poisonous food:—the poor thing humbly asks for the faculty of digestion (and no personal petition should be needed from the child himself in a matter which his ignorance earnestly

pleads for by the voices of others), and on the Bishop's rule that it is wrong to teach anything to those who will not learn what the teacher imagines to be the whole truth, the Government as purveyor-in-chief of educational supplies, may reasonably reply, "My very dear little creature, I am willing that you should be fed, and that you should digest, but as doctors differ as to the quality of the food that is fit for babes, you must wait a little longer;—it is true that in the meantime you may starve,—but you cannot blame us, for we really desire to serve you. God bless you, my dear. If you can't get any food, we shall be very sorry; and if you go to be hanged, we will not forget to pray for you. Good bye."

If I have overstrained His Lordship's position, I shall much regret it; if I have not, he need not be astonished at finding how little the Pecksniffian tendency of his opinions on Education has found sympathy amongst the mass of the people.

CHAPTER XVII.

"FINALLY, brethren, whatsoever things are true" (relating to the essential difference of things) "whatsoever things are honest," (containing therefore no contradictions) "whatsoever things are just" (declining therefore to recognize the dogmatic assertion or proposition of conflicting principles) "whatsoever things are pure," (and where various decisions are arrived at concerning the Divinity, some of those decisions are manifestly impure) "whatsoever things are lovely" (and how can those contradictions and ideas be lovely which transform if they do not deform the doctrines of the Saviour?) "whatsoever things are of good report;" (and if Denominational Schools report differently or with hostility concerning the same essential truths, how is theirs a good report?) "if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think of these things. Those things which ye have both learned, and received, and heard, and seen in me, do; and the God of peace shall be with you." * (And in these words, though it is not distinctly implied that the God of peace will be far from them who would patch up the apostolic practice with modern innovations, there is evidently no implication whatever that his presence will be vouchsafed to those who at one time perse-

* Philippians iv. 8, 9.

cute the believer in physical truth, and at another virtually persecute the truth itself, by denying the claim of mankind to learn it except on certain conditions, which conduce to the perpetuation of ignorance and crime.) *

At this stage of my work, I trust that any unprejudiced reader who may have borne with me so far, will be persuaded that, however weakly my arguments have been managed, however wanting they may be in that astute and uncandid method which distorts one's opponent's terms for the purpose of an apparent justification in abusing them,—a National System of Education, such as is carried out in America, or such as is extant in Ireland, is palpably the only system which a Christian Government can on principle, with justice, or with economy attempt to confer.

An advocate for such a system is impelled by no hostility to sects, and by no rapacity for self;—he contends for the broad principle that there shall be schools aided by public money; that all children shall be able to claim access to such schools; and that in them there shall be such united or combined Education, as may induce good fellowship amongst the subjects of the State, while at the same time there shall be no teaching,—no authorized regulation—doing violence to the consciences or religious convictions of children or of parents;—thus, therefore, the common funds of the nation are held sacred for public, not for sectional purposes; but free facilities remain by which the sectional predilections of different communions may be gratified, as indeed they ought to be, if at all, at the cost of the sects themselves.

None but those who read history in vain will hope that uniform dogmas of faith in things unseen can be successfully enforced upon the unwilling mind by a coercing Govern-

* The doctrine which from the very first origin of religious dissensions has been held by all bigots of all sects, when condensed into a few words and stripped of rhetorical disguise, is simply this—I am in the right and you are in the wrong. When you are the stronger you ought to tolerate me, for it is your duty to tolerate truth. But when I am the stronger I shall persecute you, for it is my duty to persecute error.—(MACAULAY.)

ment; none but they who seek to improve their Bible will assert that it contains any justification for casting on the schoolmaster the duties which are enjoined upon the parent and the minister; none but they for whom truth has no recommendations will assert that because some religious ministers have found motives for wrangling about religion, therefore the consequences of religious dissension shall be visited upon succeeding generations, not only in religion but in everything else. Even the support of differing modes of ministration in religion is more tenable than the inculcation of different doctrines in public schools;—in the one case the State, doubtless, pays several forms, of which some must be in error, and is therefore inconsistent; but this aid is conferred upon adults who have made choice (and it may perhaps be presumed they have conscientiously done so), of certain doctrines;—but with regard to schools, if we compel the youth of a country to learn contradictions at the public cost, we are manifestly perpetuating dissension with a fund which is supposed to be unanimously given for common purposes; and thus as it were, lest the tares should ever be overcome by the strength of the wheat, we keep nursery beds of each kind of doctrine, in order that no weed may be looked upon as too insignificant to be afterwards transplanted and watered by the State.

So fond is a Denominationalist of professions of contradiction, that, not content with the errors which occasionally creep into the most valuable work, he would stereotype those errors to preserve them from being displaced;—nay, more,—he makes manuals of them for the children of the poor:—and all this, we are told, is done to preserve religion.

Does it seem reasonable, or is it religious, that because Dr. Wiseman was ambitious of a red cap and stockings, any of the youth of England, even Roman Catholics, should remain in ignorance of history, or be debarred from learning

that a body is kept in equilibrium by two equal and opposing forces?*

If we must learn only sectarianally,—why not eat, take snuff, or exercise, in the same contracted style?

Imagine all the Roman Catholics in Australia forbidden to eat fish not hooked by faithful children of the see of Rome! Suppose the Presbyterians limited in their participation of snuffs, to a share of so much of them as had been grown and compounded by unshaken disciples of Knox! Suppose a Wesleyan preacher doomed to ride no palfrey which had not been reared under the supervision of a staunch methodistical breeder! Suppose a traveller condemned to receive no hospitality, and obtain no shelter except in the house of a friend or Boniface of his own creed; and suppose him limited to take his ease in his inn, amidst the quaint productions or manufactures of any one sect of men!

Suppose all these things, and more, and we shall yet fail to suppose half the absurdities which are involved in a denial that in secular matters children may learn through the undistracted agency of the state, all that is undisputed in intellectual acquirements; and, after the absurdity has been swallowed, there will yet remain the cruelty of condemning to bitter feelings and sectarian animosity, minds

* It is no answer to this argument to say, that the Denominationalists do not intend to limit the study of History or of Natural Philosophy; the broad fact stares us in the face, that whether they intend it or not, such is and has been the effect of their system throughout the world in all ages. Therefore some novel system must be proposed by them, showing superior advantages to those of the National System, before they can expect that their opposition to the latter will find favor with the public. A clergyman said to the writer, "But if you dot the country with schools in every direction, there will be so many that a clergyman could not if he wished, visit them all in order to confer religious teaching." The natural reply was, "And if you cannot visit them to bestow on them such teaching, how much less can you claim entire control over the school in every other branch of learning as well as in religion? How, confessing your inability to perform a part, can you in the same breath demand the management of the whole?"

which may thus be perverted from better things, by the constitution and operation of public schemes, of which in the first instance, they are the passive victims, but of which they may subsequently become vindictive tools.

Such a multiform process of teaching may be likened to the Cerberus of Mrs. Malaprop,—being now several gentlemen at once, it may hereafter become several more,—and thus it may insure a more admirable discord than even that lady aspired to in the "nice derangement of her epitaphs." But surely the public is justified, when asked to support these gentlemen whose name may be legion, in declining to pay wages to several servants whose labour of love is principally to undo what their fellows have managed to perform.

Then when the public has declined to support different forms of opinion, it may justly revert to the proposition to pay all, not in their differences but in their agreement; and this mode of support may probably be found consistent on the following grounds, with some such National system as has been founded in Ireland,* or as is advocated by the National Public School Association in England.

* Observing that the views of the Earl of Derby have been misconstrued in this Colony, in consequence of his having expressed his willingness to support an enquiry into the state of the National Schools in Ireland (which enquiry Mr. Walpole afterwards explained was not to take place in 1852, and was not looked upon by the Government as a criminating one,) I think it fit to place here part of a speech of Lord Derby in 1845, (when the National School System had been many years in operation,) from which it will appear that those who imagine that the Noble Lord intends to desert the system are strangely mistaken.

"Having had the honor in the first instance of being the instrument and the organ of introducing the National System in Ireland, which he did not originate, and having watched that system develope itself gradually till it attained a degree of success in the amount and in the quality of the education given to the poorer classes in Ireland, far beyond what he or any of its most sanguine supporters had anticipated, it would be inconsistent on his part, and *he hoped their Lordships would allow that it would be unworthy of his personal character*, if he had consented to become a member of a Government which had the slightest intention, as one of its measures, of abandoning that system of Education. * * * To assent to that which was now demanded by the clergy, would be injurious to the people of Ireland—would be destructive to the existing system of Education; and that system, it must be remembered, was the only system

It is agreeable to Scripture.

It is efficient, and succeeds where other systems fail—as in Ireland.

It bears good fruit in the observance of the Sabbath, which in no country is respected more than in the New England States of America.

It respects the old English forms of local or municipal control, more especially as shewn in America, where the great principle of taxation by local representation is introduced as one part of the system.

It respects the rights of conscience.

It is just in its bearing, inasmuch as it does not call upon a few to support by voluntary contributions, a burden which

which, by proper latitude of terms and expression, could fairly claim to be in Ireland a National System. *The conclusion to which the Government had come with regard to that system, and to which he was confident so long as he remained a member of it it would adhere, was to maintain it.* * * * It was because the system involved no abandonment of Protestant principle—it was because the supposition that it did so, was a supposition founded upon the grossest misapprehension of the system—it was because he believed that misapprehension was founded not upon wilful ignorance, but arose from want of due enquiry into the real merits of the system—it was because he believed, as he had already said, that the supposition on the part of many of the clergy that there was in the principle and practice of the system a violation of the principle of Protestantism, was erroneous,—that he did not despair after the lapse of eleven years of seeing this system, by its own merits, working its way even in the midst of opposition and distrust, and notwithstanding the efforts of its most prejudiced opponents." (After enumerating the vast strides which Education had made in Ireland subsequently to the formation of the system, His Lordship added, that if he found the people there receiving) "what was admitted to be a large, and liberal, and excellent Education, and which was essentially a Scriptural and religious Education, he hoped that when time and experience had removed the misapprehensions which now prevailed, he might yet see the Protestant clergy of Ireland co-operating with the clergy of other denominations; and if they did obtain that co-operation in behalf of the National System of Education established in Ireland, great as were the benefits of the system as it at present stood, he saw no limit to its advantages, no limit to its expansion, no limit to the beneficial influence which it might yet produce—not on the knowledge only, not on the peace only, and not alone only on the contentment—but on the morality, on the religion, and on the principles of the people of Ireland of all denominations." Compare this speech also with the Bishop of Meath's Charge, chapter xi.

all should assist in supporting, and in which all have equal interest.

It is not partial in operation like a voluntary system; and it is permanent, which voluntary efforts must fail to be; for who can tell that one liberal contributor will be succeeded by a liberal heir? Yet, by means of the trust deed, educational interests, as supported voluntarily, frequently devolve by inheritance. It is politically consistent, because in education, as in other works for public advantage, such as self-defence, the lighting of towns, the support of police, &c., it abstains from leaving a good work to chance, and equalizes the burden and the benefit conferred on those from whom contributions are demanded.*

Under good supervision and control, it is trustworthy as likely to do its work well and harmoniously in each locality, which voluntary efforts fail to do, owing to dissimilarity of zeal; and which Denominational zeal does not endeavour to do, owing to its hostilities of opinion.

Thus, therefore, it confers one advantage which no other system aspires to: viz. it affords similar means of instruction to the same family in cases where parents leave one part of the country to settle in another; but it only professes to afford this advantage in matters on which the world at large is not divided.

* It is instructive to consider what would be the result of a sectional appropriation of means for the drainage of a town. If various neighbours should decline to allow the works on their premises to harmonize with those near them, the result would be a stoppage of improvement, and cause of ill-health to the town; the Corporation of which would immediately insist that residents in the place should conform to the principle of those general rules of which society is convened for the performance, and, in disclaiming which, society would be repudiating its essential functions. The State would at once enforce the adoption of a comprehensive plan to perform the required work, and would treat with little deference the demand of the minority of ratepayers who might desire to carry out each in his own premises, and to the extent of his own rate, particular and incongruous schemes. This the State would do to avert physical evils, and the taint of disease;—shall it be said that in matters of higher moment the State can be called upon to shrink from its duty? Shall a moral pestilence be courted rather than a moral effort be made to repel it?

It is economical, because, where only a National System exists, Education is proverbially given cheaply; whereas, where only a Denominational System exists, Education is costly as well as inefficient.

It does not "break the word of promise to the ear," by specious professions unaccompanied by performance; inasmuch as where only National Schools exist, the population at large, as in New England, receives Education; whereas, unalloyed Denominational Schools leave generally (as in New South Wales in 1844), a large proportion of the community uneducated altogether.*

It is reasonable, because it steps forward gratefully to recognize and improve the highest natural gift of the Almighty, which is virtually, though not wilfully, rejected by those who retard the human mind, and who in struggling to constrain men to approach the Almighty under their guidance, prevent a large number from approaching him at all, or studying His works or word.

It deserves well of Christianity and truth, by combining the intelligence of the people on the points of union and consent, rather than repelling them by stress upon contested dogmas, and thus, by presenting truth in due proportions to all, it prepares that frame of mind which is fittest for the reception of religion and the study of nature.

It is charitable, because "it seeks not its own," but advocates general benefits for the vast majority of the people.

It is honest, because as regards State endeavours, it does not repudiate but accepts a plain duty to instruct; and it thus precludes that vicious competition which dissipates large means in ineffectual labours, and which having its life in contention necessitates the selection of teachers of parti-

* The mongrel and costly experiment of supporting both systems will, doubtless, prove neither reasonable, expedient, nor lasting.

cular tenets, and defies the supervision of single-minded inspection on behalf of the public.*

It is everywhere applicable without being constrained to change its features; whereas, as previously observed, the Denominational System, however extended can never become comprehensive; however minutely subdivided, can nowhere be peculiarly applicable.

As by its justice it confers like advantages on all localities, so by its universal application it equally embraces the wants of all; and by giving its inmates a common cause it binds them together in a common hope of union. The efforts of the weak are thus saved from dissipation, since the contributions of rich and poor are directed to one object; and while the powerful take part with the weak, the means of none are cast away.

Lastly, to a people seeking bread it does not give a stone;

* Suppose each denomination were to claim the right to coin and circulate money, as well as opinions:—can anything more absurd be imagined than that the Roman Catholics, the Wesleyans, the Presbyterians, and the Church of England men, should receive separate sums from the State to defray the expense of a coinage divided into four sectarian parts or kinds?

Yet such a division is analogous to the *divisum imperium* of Colonial Denominational grants. Not content with liberty to issue promissory notes at long dates, and subject to enforcement of payment by no secular court, the denominationalists, or rather those few who advocate unscrupulous sectarianism, are modest enough to demand, not only that they may coin every farthing's worth of intellectual currency for the children of their flocks, but that the expense of their peculiar mints shall be reimbursed to them out of the pockets of the people at large; and this is done in face of the fact that nearly half of their constituents are proverbially left without change.

The result cannot be doubted;—private companies which suspend their payments have only one legitimate refuge,—they must acknowledge themselves to be, what they really are, insolvent,—and the paramount right of the State to deal with the coinage which all equally require, and which passes current with all, must be asserted and maintained.

The Denominational System of Education in New South Wales, in 1844, having then no rival in State favors, and educating only 7,642 children out of 25,676 (there being about 13,000 uneducated altogether), was in the position of a Bank perpetually discounting its own paper at a loss of ten or twelve shillings in the pound to the public, and a gain to nobody. Who can deny that it had become necessary to regulate the transactions of the country upon some more efficient basis?

it does not deny to a majority the means of healthy digestion; it does not say, "You must conform to a particular set of opinions or your children shall be ignorant;"—it does not make pretence to open the door, and yet contrive the building so that none but a particular class shall enter in; nor does it (as Pharaoh said to the Hebrew brickmakers, "Ye are idle, ye are idle,"—and yet gave them no straw), say to a community: "Knowledge is good, but you shall not have it; Truth is good, but you shall not learn it; Obedience is good, and you must render it, even though you know not the means; and moreover, although ignorant disobedience be your misfortune rather than your crime, it is thought wiser to punish your ignorance than to remove its causes, unless you will consent to do what is morally impossible; viz., to conform not only outwardly, but in your hearts to a belief which you conscientiously conceive to be untrue."

If the State is bound to confer education, it is plain that the obligation is a general one.

Society is framed not to minister to the peculiar or personal wants of each of its members—these they must provide for themselves—but it is framed to regulate their affairs so far as they involve general principles affecting the whole community; the contract being as Blackstone expresses it:—"That the community should guard the rights of each individual member and that each individual should submit to the laws of the community: without which submission of all it was impossible that protection could be certainly extended to any." But the rights thus guarded, the protection thus given, concern the public equally:—nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus aut differemus rectum vel justitiam.* In our courts of justice equal judgment is pronounced in the cases of appellants of all sects without favor or distinction, and so far as the operations of the law are concerned, no inequality of claims is respected.

* Magna Charta, c. 29.

Doubtless the affirmation of a Quaker is accepted in lieu of an oath, but this is the act of the Quaker, not of the Law, and it is confirmatory of my argument that where individuals choose to differ from others, the Law does not interfere with their consciences, but it leaves the responsibility to themselves; guarding, however, against the conversion of private judgment into a claim for exemption from public duty, or into a right to take from the public purse the means of perpetuating party-coloured contrarieties.

So far as regards the rights of persons guaranteed by law, and as regards the rights of property, it is perhaps, an excusable digression to point out the result, in a commercial and fiscal point of view, which would be entailed in commerce and political economy by acting on Denominational principles.

If a duty on fish should be remitted to all those who are averse to eating other kinds of food;—if a duty on cotton should be remitted to all those who dislike silken attire;—if tea-duty should be remitted to all that are nervous, and the impost on sugar to all who have a sweet-tooth;—if lastly, the duty on spirits be remitted to all who are liquorish;—we should then see, not economically, but completely realized, the tendency of that Denominational fervour which rushes to the conclusion that it is just or economical for the State to forfeit its legislative position and controlling functions, for the simple purpose of taking great trouble to collect large sums, in order to return them in sections to those who are supposed to have contributed them; and to accompany the refund with the advice that all should decide their disputes by private arbitration, and that it is still hoped that the Supreme Court and the Custom-house will continue to preserve their dignity and efficiency.

But it may be said, if these things are so, how is it that any one opposes the introduction of National Education?

When railways were proposed, the coach-proprietors and

lessees of tolls trembled for their capital; and used many Mac-Adamized arguments to avert the introduction of the proffered boon. Some old ladies declared they would not travel in the proposed manner. The public did not listen to, or were not swayed by the opposition, and steam carriages were set in motion and have been used by all. Let any one who opposes National Schools be heard with attention; but above all, let it be ascertained whether he has anything to do with an opposition coach.

In conclusion, I would reiterate what I have previously urged; that this community can afford no delay or temporizing on the subject; to a certain extent the character of the imported population is beyond control, but the education of the rising generation is local and may be grappled with; and on the quality of that education it chiefly depends, whether pestilence shall decimate our towns crowded with the reckless and ignorant, and whether crime shall fester in secret till it acquires audacity to go at large in the broad day.

North America established (under a penalty) her system of school-rates, at a much earlier period of her history than when she numbered the same amount of souls, as are now in Victoria. Why should not school-rates be established here, on the same principle; fixing a minimum amount of school provision, and leaving voluntary efforts to do as much more as benevolence may prompt? If other means fail, why not combine recognition of duty with the sensibilities of the pocket, and take a double school-rate from parents declining to send their children to school? Each School District should, however, be compelled to afford gratuitous education to those few children whose parents or guardians might really be unable to discharge their required duties. Thus, not one child would remain untaught; and as National Schools do not inculcate doctrinal differences, the necessity to educate does not entail in them any suspicion of persecution which would attach to compulsory inculcation in Denomina-

tional Schools, where the tenets held might differ from those of a large number of parents.

In addition to the primary schools thus to be formed, why should not Industrial and Boarding Schools be formed in the vicinity of populous districts, so that clergymen, physicians, and philanthropists might pay those visits for which their professions and the wants of the case point out the necessity.

A large establishment, having room for a few flocks of sheep, and a sufficient herd of cattle, might be managed principally by means of the labor of scholars, and would supply both cereal and animal food for its inmates. If five hundred and twenty boys should give only a week's labor each, the advantage gained would be equivalent to the continuous labour of ten of them throughout the year (excepting of course the aptitude accruing from practice). And if, as there might well be, there were two or three such large establishments formed in the colony, capable of containing one thousand children in each, and the school fees of £3, £4, or £5, for each child, were carried to account for the benefit of the institutions, there would not be a large balance required to be made up by taxation; estimating that the yield of the farm, as tended by a few hired persons, would render the annual cash outlay, beyond salaries to teachers and others, very small.*

For protection of the public, a due audit of accounts of such an institution would of course be carefully secured; and thus, condensed in one place, there might be carried on a course of education amongst a class whom as yet no rural schools have reached, but whose instruction would not render the ordinary day-schools less necessary than now.

Frequent inspection would be by no means one of the least available advantages of such a scheme; and religious instruction would be as readily given, it is presumed, as in

* The salaries of Teachers should in all places enable them to rank, cæteris paribus, with the most respectable and influential persons near them.

England, where the Industrial Schools at Liverpool and Manchester, containing in 1847, 919, and 626 children respectively, were reported as evincing plainly that the children were not backward in respect of this important subject. At Manchester, a Roman Catholic priest attended weekly to teach his own flock; and where many scholars are assembled together it is clear that the cost of every undertaking with respect to the institution would be reduced, and the efficiency heightened, as compared with the expense of teaching an equal number of scholars in very many smaller establishments.

In 1849, out of thirty-one scholars attending the Buninyong Boarding School, in this Province, the fee for each being £10, only seven were children of shepherds and hutkeepers, the rest being children of overseers, tradesmen, innkeepers, &c., and, out of the whole number, five were partly paid for by annual donation (of £5) from the employers of parents; admission of pupils on such terms being contemplated in the foundation of the establishment.

Excellent as the institution was, therefore, and much as it redounds to the credit of its originators and supporters, it cannot be said that it was calculated to form an example by which public instruction could be made the claim of every child in the State.

By means of larger institutions and a consequent reduction of average expenses, a certain number of scholars could be presented with Education gratis, on due certificate from School Committees (as in America,) and a portion of the debt incurred, might in Industrial Schools be repaid by labor. With abundance of National Primary Schools, with a few comprehensive National Industrial and Boarding Establishments, and with the early foundation of a liberal University, for matriculation in which a certain number of the most eligible scholars in each county might have claim by State endowment, why should not Victoria hope to rival the intellectual position of the mother country?

If indirect means be needed to stir up the mental energies

of the people, why might not such aid be conferred by making the electoral franchise contingent upon ability to read and write; and at any rate, in the election of School Committees, ought it not to be made imperative that none should vote but those who are able to read and write well?*

It cannot, however, be necessary to recapitulate the details which may be expedient in forming and applying a National System of Education in this Colony:—if there be any value in the facts cited, or the reasoning made use of in the previous pages, it will be admitted that some such system as that in vogue in America, or in Ireland, ought to be adopted here. If such a resolution be publicly entertained, there can be no difficulty in carrying out the details;—though the sooner the determination can be made, the better will it be for the general interests of the community; for each succeeding year of a temporizing or vacillating policy will render it more and more difficult to deal with the question, in consequence of the vested interests which will be sedulously created for the few, in order that the rights or advantage of the many may be contended against with a show of equity if not of reason.

> Ut jugulent homines, surgunt de nocte latrones:
> Ut teipsum serves, non expergisceris? Atqui
> Si noles sanus, curres hydropicus: et ni
> Posces ante diem librum cum lumine; si non
> Intendes animum studiis et rebus honestis,
> Invidiâ vel amore vigil torquebere. Nam cur,
> Quæ lædunt oculum, festinas demere; si quid
> Est animum, differs curandi tempus in annum?
> Dimidium facti, qui cœpit habet. Sapere aude:
> Incipe. Vivendi recte qui prorogat horam,
> Rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis; at ille
> Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.

* What can be said in favor of the political or practical sagacity of those who complain that it would be hard to deny a vote to a man of property who might be unable to read, but at the same time might be *intelligent*? Surely no intelligent man of property need labor long under an inability to read and write, since he may learn to do both in a very short period; and such a qualification is therefore most easily accessible. On the other hand, to imagine that a man too stupid to learn to read and write can comprehend the task of a legistator, is to imagine what is not worth serious refutation.

Let all friends of Education therefore dare to be wise in time, for the prospects arising from delay add immeasurably to the chances of failure; whereas, if immediate steps be taken for educating not a part, but the whole of the people, there are, literally, not more than the labors of a few years to be encountered. In a very short period it would be found that the subject which requires the strong arm of the law now, would become the unsolicited labor of love.

Thus much in parting from the friends who have borne with me until now. Let those who deny the propriety of making a general attempt to educate the masses, on the ground that it is inexpedient for the vulgar herd to investigate truth, be warned that by means of that denial they are virtually meeting Hobbes and Spinoza in the detestable agreement that ignorance and crime are, the one advisable, the other necessary;* that they are lending themselves to the principles, if not to the standard of the philosopher of Malmesbury in his comparison of the human race to wild beasts perpetually requiring coercion, and never actuated except by grovelling motives; and are equally countenancing the degrading materialism of the recluse of the Hague, who saw no more beauty in the beneficence of Divine Revelation, and no greater magnificence in Creation than led him to ascribe all existence even of a Deity to uncontrollable fate, involving the involuntary but inevitable production of all evil as well

* The name of Anaxagoras ought, perhaps, to be linked with those who would degrade the position and endowments of man as originally created;—this philosopher considered the human hand to be the distinctive characteristic which has raised man above the level of brutes, and his principle differs little in the abstract from that in which modern times, by perpetuating ignorance (i. e., by refusing to increase knowledge, except on terms which have been over and over again proved to be prohibitory,) would rank the human race merely among useful machines; but the motives of the unenlightened and curious heathen are not open to the suspicion which must attach to his modern imitators, who in spite of the Revelation which teaches that souls are immortal, and that all may find equal favor with their Maker, would repudiate available opportunities of vindicating the position which the human race has been fitted to acquire.

as of all good. Extremes meet;—in leaving the bigoted and short-sighted advocates of narrowing the sphere of intellectual research, in the companionship of Hobbes and Spinoza, I would now turn to remind those who contend for an enlarged and charitable comprehensiveness in cultivating the human faculties, that their truest support will be found in that Book, of which their adversaries while professing veneration, do nevertheless contract the influence when they succeed in limiting the expansion and reflection of the human mind.

No sectarian division of benefits can we find operating in the processes of Nature, nor do we read of as inculcated in Scripture.

When those who were bidden to the feast, found their various excuses for absence, no exclusive tests were enforced in the invitation of guests—no restrictions were imposed with respect to the extension of the proffered boon, even to the poor;—the servants were enjoined to go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in, that the house might be filled, (Luke xiv. 23.); and in like manner they are the true lovers of revelation and truth who would extend their benefits to all; who would not only provide the feast, but would render it accessible;—and who, in so doing, not only prove that they themselves have no misgivings as to the credibility of their faith which can bear the full beams of the day, but may confidently look forward with hope to the natural consequences of training up the community at large so that, not one section alone but all may be pronounced a wise and understanding people.

If in the effectual prosecution of so good a work there be demanded no more concession of charity and forbearance than that, where all have the same things to teach or to learn, they should consent to do so together; surely the enemies of such concession may be appealed to with an earnest hope, that the Revelation that to give is more blessed than to

receive, and that to love one another is the sum of social duty, may yet be permitted by the few to assert its mild sway over the many, and to bind them together in universal toleration and peace. Who will dare to say that that general charity and hearty union which conduce most to worldly success and happiness, are incompatible with earnestness of purpose in endeavouring to attain that higher happiness in which it is the faith of all that differences shall trouble them no more?

If in marshalling the Christian warriors for their approach to the material Jerusalem, the Church disdained not to rely upon the labors of laymen, and found in that instance the reward of its trust, what may not be expected from the undivided array of the multitudinous generations of the civilized world, if the several clergy of modern days, eschewing that domestic charity which begins and finishes at home, would co-operate with the entire laity in leading onward the enquiring mind of man to that point from which the city of their search may appear revealed?

If it must be that subsequent divisions will creep in and distract the mighty masses;—if they should still decline to be associated together in the completion of their task, in their nearer approach to the object of their common adoration;—who will deny that it is something to unite them in their onward march until they reach the utmost eminence on which their gathered ranks can be sustained, and from which their accordant accents may rise as of old they rose from the Soldiers of the Cross,—

> Ecco apparir Gerusalem si vede,
> Ecco additar Gerusalem si scorge:
> Ecco da mille voce unitamente
> Gerusalemme salutar si sente?

APPENDIX.

A.

THE following valuable paper, which was furnished some years ago to a Colonial newspaper by a friend of the writer, seems to form an appropriate addition to these pages; and when it is mentioned that the author of the paper was well known in English literary circles, and was many years Attorney-General in an English West-Indian Dependency, some amount of respect will doubtless be conceded to his observations.

CONNEXION BETWEEN IGNORANCE AND CRIME.

Doubts having been expressed in more than one quarter, whether the connexion between ignorance and crime be in truth so well established as the advocates for the extension of education and the diffusion of knowledge among the labouring classes have contended, it becomes necessary to investigate the facts adduced in support of an opinion so fatal to the hopes of those who look to the gradual spread of substantial, moral, and useful instruction, among the mass of the people—for the diminution of vice and the improvement of social happiness.

These facts must be dealt with as they are brought forward; and there is little reason to doubt that on a candid, but strict investigation, they will be universally found to support rather than injure the cause of popular education. A remarkable instance of the necessity of this scrutiny occurs in a French work of considerable merit, entitled, "Essai sur la Statistique Morale de la France, par M. Guerry," where that opinion is supported from facts drawn from legitimate sources, which it is not necessary to impugn, but which, on examination, warrant conclusions of an opposite character.

M. Guerry, in his Essay, takes, as the basis of his calculation of the degree in which instruction is imparted in the different departments of the country, the actual intellectual condition of the men drawn to fill the ranks of the army, who, being drawn from all classes, may fairly be taken as a measure of the extent of education imparted to each; but he limits himself to the record and result of one year only, (1831,) neglecting the information afforded by the two years preceding and subsequent to that one. We shall consider not only the year he has chosen, but also all the years the records of which have reached us. As it would be tedious to examine the details in each department, it is proposed, as the fairest way of arriving at the truth, to take the four *most* and the four *least* instructed of the whole eighty-six departments of the kingdom, the population of each four being nearly equal, and according to this test, it appears that the proportion of persons who could read and write in the four most instructed departments was—

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Years.	Wholly ignorant.		Read and write badly.		Read and write well.		Superior instruction.	
	Accused.	Convicted.	Accused.	Convicted.	Accused.	Convicted.	Accused.	Convicted.
1831	799	623	341	249	130	79	26	14
1832	857	684	422	327	131	91	19	12
1833	782	623	395	310	119	28	22	19
Yearly Average	813	644	386	295	127	87	22	15

The following table will afford still greater satisfaction to those who are of opinion that a course of moral education to the mass of the people is effectual for cleansing society from vice and crime:—

TABLE FOR 1833.

Punishments.	Cannot read or write.	Read or write imperfectly.	Read or write well.	Superior degree of instruction.	Total.
Death	34	10	6	..	50
Perpetual labour...	90	44	4	3	141
Labour for different periods	483	235	67	17	802
Solitary confinement	437	213	64	23	737
Transportation	1	..	..	3	4
Imprisonment	13	4	1	3	21
Correctional punishment	1544	628	198	47	2417
Children detained	16	7	2	..	25
Surveillance	10	8	3	4	25
	2628	1149	345	100	4222

Upon inspection of the above, it will be seen that out of 4,222 criminals, subjected to punishment in France in 1833, the large proportion of 3,777 belong to the class who had received none, or only the lowest degree of instruction; of the other two classes, 345 offenders were found among those who had received a superior education, but a still more important fact is established by the table, that out of fifty persons sentenced to death, not one belonged to the well-educated class—that forty-seven of that class were subjected to only slight correctional punishment, and four to simple surveillance, leaving only forty-nine well-educated persons out of the whole proportion of thirty-two millions, or one in 664,678 persons, who in the course of the year 1833, was found deserving of severe punishment.

The same connexion between ignorance and crime is proved by authentic documents to exist in the kingdom of Saxony, but the accounts do not state the several degrees of education, nor are the offences so classified as to afford the same satisfactory analysis as is obtained from the French returns. The general result, however, is as follows.—

In the year 1832, in the district of Voightland, the population was 122,918, of whom 205·63 per mil. were receiving instruction, and 3·42 per mil. were classed as criminal offenders. While in the district of Leipsig, the population was 273,638, of whom 183·89 per mil. were receiving instruction, and 6·57 per mil. were criminal offenders.

In Belgium the state of instruction corresponds in a remarkable degree with what is found to exist in France. Thus, among 36,422 criminal offenders brought before the Courts in the five years, from 1828 to 1832,

60·8 per cent. could neither read nor write.
27·1 „ read and write imperfectly.
10·6 „ read and write well.
2·1 „ have received a superior degree of instruction.

These proportions do not differ more than one-half per cent. in any class, from those of France.

In England, the returns which are obtained from time to time, from the chaplains and the magistrates, to whom the best opportunities are afforded of personally ascertaining the state of instruction of the individuals who come under their cognizance, as offenders or prisoners, furnish the most satisfactory evidence of the principle that education, properly so called, does in truth tend to diminish and restrain crime.

State of Instruction and Religious Knowledge of 1,129 *individuals committed in the year* 1838, *to the House of Correction at Preston, Lancashire.*

Class No. 1.	Unable to read	554
2.	Barely capable of reading	222
3.	Can read the Testament	155
4.	Can read fluently	38
5.	Can read and write a little	152
6.	Can read and write well	8
		—— 1,129

RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE.

Quite ignorant of the simplest truths...	516
Capable of repeating the Lord's Prayer	995
Occasional readers of the Bible..	37
Familiar with the Scriptures and conversant with the principles of Religion	1

It is worthy of observation, and may furnish food for much reflection, that it appears by the statements of the criminals themselves, that as the scale of instruction rises, intoxication begins to exhibit itself as a cause of crime, until, with the educated, it becomes paramount to every other.

Referring to the numbers of the classes in the foregoing table, the ratio of drinking as a cause of crime to all other known causes with reference to the degree of education in the criminal:—

In class No. 1. drinking as to other causes is 1 to 1·43
2. 1 to 1·28
3. 1 to 1·04
4. 1 to ·71
5. 1 to ·43
6. 1 to ·25

Poverty and idleness lead the ignorant into offences, education and principle may enable the instructed man to resist the temptation from those causes, but it seems that neither education nor principles protect him from the influence of liquor when it has become an habitual indulgence.

From a similar report from the same place, it appears that in 1839 out of 270 offenders

176 could not read.	As to Religious Instruction.
41 could only read.	82 quite ignorant.
44 read and write ill.	177 ill instructed.
9 read and write well.	11 well instructed.
Total 270	Total 270

The chaplain of the gaol at Lewes, in Sussex, adopted a mode of examina-

tion as to their religious knowledge, by putting a few of the most simple questions. The result out of the whole 846 prisoners, was as follows:—

CLASS.	Acquainted with the Christian Doctrine.	Acquainted with the History of the Saviour.	Scarcely acquainted with the name of the Saviour.	Wholly ignorant of Religion.	Total.
Read and write well	8	12	28	..	48
Read well and write a little	..	37	185	35	257
Read imperfectly	..	2	169	71	242
Neither read nor write	..	3	108	188	299
Total	8	54	490	294	846

At the two assizes for Lancashire and Liverpool, in the year 1838, there were thirty-eight charges of murder and manslaughter, of which eighteen were proved to have arisen from drinking.

The yearly criminal returns of England and Wales show the number of persons committed for trial, and the nature of the crimes with which they were respectively charged; and since 1835, the degree of instruction possessed by the criminal is also recorded in the tables; it is to the latter part of the return that we propose to draw the attention of our readers.

It appears from these returns, that in the three years from 1837 to 1839 inclusive, there were committed for trial in England and Wales, 69,517 persons, or 23,172 annually; of this annual average

35·4, or 8201 could neither read nor write.
54·2, or 12,567 read and write imperfectly.
10, or 2318 read and write well.
·4 or 86 had received a degree of education.

The variations in the proportions during the three years were very small. The two first classes may be placed together, as possessing a degree of instruction too imperfect to have any moral influence on the habits, or in any just sense to deserve the name of education—thus ninety out of one hundred persons committed for trial, may be stated as destitute of moral instruction, or of the elementary aids by which it could be acquired.

The result of the English tables is confirmed by the experience of every other country from which similar information has been obtained.

In Scotland, out of 8,907 offenders who were tried in the three years from 1836 to 1839,—

20·2 per cent. could neither read nor write.
59·2 „ read and write imperfectly.
18·2 „ read and write well.
2·4 „ had received a superior degree of instruction.

proving that instruction is both more general, and is carried further in Scotland than in England.

In Ireland the general result is the same, but 1835 is the only year in which the classification is the same with that in England, and a close comparison is therefore impracticable.

From the Second Report of the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, it appears that out of 141,083 couples married in the year 1839, forty-one per cent. signed with a mark.

In the Parkhurst Reformatory, in the Isle of Wight, the following is the analysis of the state of instruction of 157 prisoners.

	Knowledge of meanings.	Knowledge of the Scriptures
Read well 5		
Tolerably 26	Same 24	Considerable 14
Imperfectly 54	A little 34	Some 25
Scarcely at all . . . 34	Very little 19	A little 25
Not at all 38	Scarcely any or none . 80	Scarcely any or none . 93
157	157	157

But it is material to consider not only the numerical proportion of the instructed part of the gross amount of criminals, but also the character of the crimes with which they were charged, that some opinion may be formed as to the effect of instruction in mitigating the nature of the offence, where it has not succeeded in preventing it altogether.

We have already mentioned that in the three years 1837, 8, and 9, there were committed for trial in England and Wales, 69,517 persons, of whom 258 are stated to possess a superior degree of instruction.

Of these 246 were males and twelve were females, affording the inference that education has a more powerful preventive influence over one sex than over the other.

Of the twelve females committed—

8 were charged with larceny.
2 ditto ditto fraud.
1 ditto ditto murder.
1 ditto ditto wounding with intent to injure.

Of the two hundred and forty-six males committed—

110 were charged with acts of theft without force.
45 ditto ditto ditto malicious offences against the person,
viz —22 assaults. 15 manslaughter. 7 attempts to maim and injure. 1 murder.
33 were charged with acts of theft by fraud.
21 ditto ditto ditto offences against the peace, chiefly riots.
20 ditto ditto ditto sexual offences.
4 ditto ditto ditto theft by force.
3 ditto ditto ditto malicious offences against property,
viz.—1 arson. 1 sending threatening letter. 1 killing and maiming cattle.

The proportions of these several classes of crime are widely different from those which prevail among criminals of all descriptions, as will appear from the following table, framed from the same materials:—

		The proportion of 2nd Class of instructed, those who could read and write well.	The average of all Criminals was
The proportion of well instructed charged with theft without violence, was	Per cent. 44·3	69·2	Per cent. 75·1
Malicious offences against the person	18·0	8·2	5·3
Fraud and Forgery	13·4	6·2	2·2
Offenders against the State	8·5	4·7	6·8
Sexual Offences	8·1	3·6	2·4
Theft with violence	1·6	3·8	7·1
Malicious offences against property	1·2	0·5	0·6

Instruction is insufficient altogether to restrain the outbreaks of passion, but does operate to prevent premeditated crimes, while those offences which require

intelligence and skill for the perpetration are necessarily peculiar to the instructed classes.

The inference from the foregoing statement of facts seems conclusive that it is not by the educated that the mass of offences is committed, but by the ignorant whom instruction has not reached; or the ill-instructed to whom, from whatever cause, it has been supplied in too slight a degree to be effectual.

To increase its power, to diffuse its influence, and to make it such as shall in truth deserve the name of education, ought to be the object of the earnest and and unremitting efforts of every one desirous of promoting the temporal and eternal interests of mankind.

APPENDIX B.

THE REGULATIONS OF NATIONAL SCHOOLS IN THE COLONY OF VICTORIA.

PROMULGATED IN 1852.

I.

1. It is the earnest wish of the Government, and of the Commissioners, that the clergy and laity of the different religious denominations in the Colony should co-operate with one another in conducting national schools.

2. The Commissioners will grant aid towards the building and support of schools of two classes;—elementary schools, and schools of industry; but they can grant aid only to a limited number of the latter, and these must be at certain distances from each other. It is an indispensable condition for aid towards a school of industry, that a work room should be annexed to it, if it be situated in a town; and if it be a country or rural school, that a certain quantity of land shall be provided for garden culture. The Commissioners will consider schools for females as of the class of elementary schools; but they will require that instructions be there given in sewing, knitting, and other works suited to females.

II.

As to the Government of Schools, with respect to attendance and Religious Instruction.

1. The ordinary school business, during which children of whatever denomination they may be, are required to attend, is to embrace a specified number of hours each day, according to the instructions which the Commissioners will give to the masters and inspectors.

2. Opportunities and facilities are to be afforded to the children of each school, for receiving such religious instruction as their parents or guardians approve of, in class-rooms, to be provided for the purpose, to which such pastors, or other persons as shall be approved of by the parents or guardians of the children respectively, shall have access at convenient times, to be appointed for this purpose; whether those pastors or persons shall have signed the original application, or not.

3. The patrons of the several schools have the right of appointing such religious instruction as they may think proper to be given therein, provided that each school be open to children of all communions;—that due regard be had to parental right and authority;—that accordingly, no child be compelled to receive, or to be present at, any religious instruction to which his or her parents or guardians object; and that the time for giving it be so fixed, that no child

shall be thereby, in effect, excluded, directly or indirectly, from the other advantages which the school affords. Subject to this, religious instruction may be given either during the fixed school hours, or otherwise.

4. The reading of the Scriptures, either in the Protestant authorized or Douay version, comes within the above rule as to religious instruction.

5. The rule as to religious instruction applies to public prayer, and to all other religious exercises.

6. The Commissioners do not insist on the Scripture lessons being read in any of the national schools, nor do they allow them to be read during the time of secular or literary instruction, in any school attended by children, whose parents or guardians object to their being so read. In such case the Commissioners prohibit the use of them, except at the times of religious instruction, when the persons giving it may use these lessons or not, as they think proper.

7. Whatever arrangement is made in any school for giving religious instruction, must be publicly notified in the schoolroom, in order that those children, and those only, may be present whose parents or guardians allow them. This public notification is to be inserted in large letters in the "time table," and as far as may be practicable the general nature of such religious instruction shall be also stated in the "time-table," which is to be kept hung up in a conspicuous place in the schoolroom, in large characters.

8. If any other books than the Holy Scriptures, or the standard books of the church to which the children using them belong, are employed in communicating religious instruction, each work is to be made known to the local patrons by the pastor or religious instructor, and the local patrons are required to report the title and character of such work to the Commissioners.

9. The use of the books published by the Irish Commissioners is not compulsory; but the titles of all other books, which the conductors of schools intend for the ordinary school business, are to be reported to the Commissioners, and none to be used to which they object; their intention being to prohibit such only as may appear to them to contain matter objectionable in itself, or objectionable for common instruction, as peculiarly belonging to some particular religious denomination.

10. A registry to be kept in each school recording the daily attendance of the scholars, and the average attendance in each week and each quarter, according to a form to be furnished by the Commissioners.

III.

As to Teachers.

1. The appointment of teachers of schools rests with the Board of Commissioners, who are to be satisfied of the fitness of each, both as to character and general qualification.

2. But while the Commissioners reserve to themselves the right of nomination, they will in all cases pay special regard to the recommendation by the local patrons of candidates for the office of teacher. A teacher should be a person of Christian sentiment, of calm temper and discretion; he should be imbued with spirit of peace, of obedience to the law, and of loyalty to his Sovereign. He should not only possess the art of communicating knowledge, but be capable of moulding the mind of youth and of giving to the power which education confers, a useful direction. These are the qualities for which patrons of schools, on their recommendation of teachers, should anxiously look. They are those which the Commissioners are anxious to find, to encourage and to reward.

3. The Commissioners will provide a Normal Establishment in Melbourne as soon as practicable, for training teachers, and educating persons who are intended to undertake the charge of schools; and they will not sanction the permanent appointment of a teacher to any school, unless he or she shall have been previously trained at the Normal Establishment, or shall have been pronounced duly qualified by the Inspector, or such person as they may authorize to examine.

4. Teachers selected by the Commissioners for admission to the Normal Establishment must produce a certificate of good character from an officiating

clergyman of the communion to which they belong, and must pass through an examination in the books published by the Irish Commissioners. A vigilant superintendence will be at all times exercised over their moral conduct.

5. The Commissioners will grant a salary to each teacher proportioned to the nature and extent of the instruction which may be afforded by the school; and for the present according to the terms of their notice, dated the tenth of May, 1852, as published in the Government Gazette.

6. The Commissioners propose, as soon as the necessary arrangements can be made, to divide teachers into the following classes, to each of which a fixed salary will be attached:—

First Class,	Third Class,	Assistant Teachers,
Second Class,	Probationary Teachers,	Mistresses to teach Needlework.

7. All newly-appointed teachers, who have not previously conducted national schools, will be considered as probationers, and must remain as such for at least one year, at the expiration of which time they will be eligible for classification.

8. Examinations will be held at specified times by the Inspectors, with the view of promoting meritorious teachers, while those who may have conducted themselves improperly, or in whose schools the attendance has considerably decreased, will be liable to be depressed.

9. The Commissioners will not grant a salary to an assistant teacher or to a teacher of needlework, unless they are satisfied that the appointment is necessary; and such teachers, even though they may be classed, will not be paid any higher rate of salary than the amount awarded to them as assistant teachers, or teachers of needlework, until appointed to the rank of principal teacher, with the sanction of the Commissioners.

10. The Commissioners will determine upon a course of study for each class, in which the teachers will be examined as a test of their fitness for promotion; but their general conduct, the condition of their respective schools, their method of conducting them, and the daily average attendance of pupils, will also be taken into consideration.

11. The Commissioners will require that a further income be secured to the teacher, either by local subscription or school fees, to such amount in each case as they may direct, and the Commissioners also require that the payments made by the children shall not be diminished in consequence of any increase of salary which may be awarded to the teacher.

12. In schools consisting of male and female children, occupying the same room, under the care of one male teacher, the Commissioner will grant a salary to a teacher of needlework, provided the average daily attendance of children be sufficiently large to warrant the Commisssioners in so doing.

13. In schools attended by female children only, under the care of a female teacher, such teacher must be competent to conduct the neodlework as well as the literary department.

14. The Commissioners will also grant salaries to assistant literary teachers, in all schools, where, in their opinion, the daily average attendance is so large as to render additional teachers necessary.

15. Salaries will be granted by the Commissioners to teachers *individually*. No new teacher, therefore, is to receive a salary from them unless they have first approved of him; and the amount will be regulated by the class in which he may be placed.

16. The Commissioners will award premiums to masters and mistresses of national schools who are most distinguished for order, neatness, and cleanliness, observable in themselves, their pupils, and the school houses.

17. The Commissioners also propose to establish a system of pupil teachers, who will be apprenticed to competent masters, to be instructed and trained, so as to be prepared to complete their education as teachers in the normal school. Salaries will be granted to the pupil teachers, and gratuities to the training masters.

18. Should the Commissioners consider any teacher employed in a school under their supervision unfit for his or her office, or otherwise objectionable, they have the power to dismiss him summarily, and to provide another.

IV.

On the Inspection of Schools.

1. The public generally must have free access to every national school during the hours devoted to secular instruction,—not to take part in the ordinary business, nor to interrupt it,—but, as visitors, to observe how it is conducted.

2. Every teacher of a national school is to receive courteously visitors of all denominations, to afford them free access to the schoolroom, and full liberty to observe what books are in the hands of the children or upon the desks; what tablets are hung upon the walls, and what is the method of teaching; but they are by no means required to permit any person to interrupt the business of the school, by asking questions of children, examining classes, calling for papers of any kind, or, in any other way, diverting the attention of either teachers or scholars from their usual business.

3. Should any visitors wish for information which they cannot obtain from such an inspection, it will be the duty of the teacher to refer them to the local patrons of the school for it.

4. Every teacher is required to have his visitors' or daily report book lying upon his desk, that visitors may, if they choose, enter remarks in it. Such remarks as may be made, the teachers are by no means to alter or erase.

5. As the religious instruction of the children is under the control of the clergyman or lay person communicating it with the approbation of their parents, the Commissioners can give no liberty to any other visitor, whether clergyman or layman to interfere therewith.

6. The Commissioners by themselves or their officers, have the right to visit and examine the schools, whenever they shall think fit. Those who visit on the part of the Commissioners will be furnished with credentials under their seal, which such visitors will show to the teachers.

7. The Commissioners will divide the Colony of Victoria into school districts, with a view to their effective inspection, and will appoint such inspectors and agents to each as may be necessary.

8. The Commissioners will take an early opportunity of issuing detailed instructions, to the inspectors of their schools.

V.

Building.

1. Before any grant is made towards building a school-house, the Commissioners are to be satisfied that a necessity exists for such a school, that an eligible site has been granted by the Crown, or (if otherwise procured,) that a satisfactory conveyance will be executed to the Commissioners in their corporate capacity, and that the applicant parties are prepared to raise, by local contribution, at least one-third of the whole sum which the Commissioners deem necessary for the erection of the house, providing furniture, &c.

2. The local patrons are expected to provide for the good repair of their respective schools.

3. The Commissioners will determine from the information afforded them, the dimensions of the proposed building.

4. The Commissioners cannot, in any case, pay more than two-thirds of the sum which they may deem necessary for the erection of the school-house, (including furniture, &c.,) and they invariably require that the remaining one-third at least shall be locally provided for.

5. The cost of the house, &c., is determined by the number of the children which it is intended to accommodate, allowing an area of six square feet for each child.

EXAMPLE.—A school-house capable of accommodating one hundred children should contain not less than an area of six hundred square feet, and should be ten feet high to the wall plate.

6. The Commissioners will furnish instructions as to the plan and specification, to which the parties receiving aid are bound strictly to adhere, and they will require that a portion of each school-building shall be divided from the rest by a partition, in order that it may be used as a separate class-room.

7. The Commissioners will not contribute to the ornamenting of school-houses, but merely to such expenditure as may be necessary for having the children accommodated in plain substantial buildings. If building of another description be preferred, the whole of the extra expense must be provided by the applicants.

8. Previous to the payment of the grants, a certificate according to a form furnished, must be forwarded to the Commissioners, stating that the school-house, furniture, &c., have been completed in a satisfactory and workmanlike manner, and built according to the dimensions and directions set forth in the plan and specification. This certificate is to be signed by the local patrons, and by the contractor. The work is to be approved of by the inspector, or by some person authorized by the Commissioners to examine it, and if a question arise as to the expenditure incurred, the accounts must be submitted to any audit which may be deemed necessary.

VI.

Books.

1. The Commissioners will furnish gratuitously to each school a first stock of school books. They are to be kept as a school stock, for which the master or mistress is held responsible, and they are on no account to be taken out of the school. The Commissioners will also supply books from time to time for the general use of the children, and school requisites such as paper, slates, quills, &c., at a stated price.

2. When books, &c., purchased from the Commissioners, are sold to children attending a national school, it is directed that in no case shall any advance be made on their prices, and the inspectors will receive instructions to inquire into, and report upon, any infraction of this rule.

VII.

Miscellaneous.

1. The Commmissioners will consider themselves at any time entitled to add to the number of local patrons of a school, and to name such additional patrons.

2. When any school is received by the Commissioners into connexion with them, the inscription "National School" *and no other*, shall be put up conspicuously on the school-house.

3 The Commissioners require that no use shall be made of the school-houses for any purpose tending to contention, such as the holding of political meetings in them, or bringing into them political petitions or documents of any kind for signature, or otherwise.

4. The Commissioners require that the national school-rooms shall not be converted into places of public worship.

5. The Commissioners require the school-rooms to be used *exclusively for the purposes of education*, and any breach of this rule will be held to be a violation of the principles of the national education system.

6. The Commissioners will require that the principles of the following lesson, or of a lesson of similar import, be strictly inculcated in all schools admitted into connexion with the Board, and that a copy of the lesson itself be hung up in each school.

"Christians should endeavour, as the Apostle Paul commands them, to 'live peaceably with all men,' (Rom. ch. xii. v. 17), even with those of a different religious persuasion.

"Our Saviour Christ commanded his disciples 'to love one another.' He taught them to love even their enemies, to bless those that cursed them, and to pray for those who persecuted them. He himself prayed for his murderers.

"Many men hold erroneous doctrines, but we ought not to hate or persecute them. We ought to seek for the truth; and to hold fast what we are convinced is the truth; but not to treat harshly those who are in error. Jesus Christ did not intend his religion to be forced on men by violent means. He would not allow his disciples to fight for him.

"If any persons treat us unkindly, we must not do the same with them; for

Christ and his apostles have taught us not to return evil for evil. If we would obey Christ, we must do to others, not as they do to us, but as we would wish them to do to us.

Quarrelling with our neighbours and abusing them, is not the way to convince them that we are in the right and they are in the wrong. It is more likely to convince them that we have not a Christian spirit.

"We ought to show ourselves followers of Christ, who, 'when he was reviled, reviled not again,' (I Pet. ch. ii. v. 23), by behaving gently and kind to every one."

7. The Commissioners will regard the attendance of any of their teachers at meetings held for *political purposes*, or their taking part in elections for members of the Legislative Council, except by voting, as incompatible with the performance of their duties, and as a violation of rule which will render them liable to dismissal.

VIII.

Aid to Schools previously established.

The Commissioners will, at their discretion, take under their supervision, schools not vested in them, and to the building of which they have not contributed, but which receive aid only by way of salary and books. All the foregoing regulations, with the exceptions of those in Section V., on "Building," will apply equally to these schools.

IX.

1. The Commissioners desire it to be distinctly understood, that they will not hold themselves bound to grant assistance in any case, unless application shall have been made to them in the first instance, unless such application shall have been approved of, and unless they shall have funds at their disposal when they come to decide upon the case, to enable them to grant the required aid. Applicants are therefore recommended not to incur any expense towards the payment of which they expect the Commissioners to contribute, until the decision of the Board shall have been communicated to them.

2. Applicants for assistance are not to understand that the Commissioners are bound to grant the full amount of aid as set forth in the foregoing regulations in every case, nor can they grant any, unless they have sufficient funds for the purpose, which depends upon the amount placed at their disposal by the Legislature.

3. Persons desirous of obtaining assistance from the Commissioners of National Education, under any of the foregoing heads, will, upon intimating to the secretary the nature of the aid required, be furnished with the forms upon which their application must be laid before the Commissioners.

4. The Commissioners only correspond with teachers through the local patrons of their respective schools, or through their inspectors.

5. All letters should be directed as under, and in all cases pre-paid:—

The Secretary,
Board of
National Education,
Melbourne.

6. The Commissioners would wish to establish, in the more thinly peopled districts of the colony, a system of boarding children in the vicinity of national schools; and in the mean time they request from such employers of labor as are favourable to general education, and inclined to become patrons of schools in connexion with the Board, every local information on the subject which they may consider themselves able to afford.

7. The Commissioners are empowered under the Act of Incorporation, 15 Victoria, No. 7, from time to time, to revoke or alter any of the foregoing regulations, as it shall seem to them either expedient or necessary.

THE END.

ERRATA.

Page 14, line 7, *for* "people" *read* "peuple."
„ 95, *omit* "i" in last line second table.
„ 96, *for* "krentzers" *read* "kreutzers."
„ 172, line 14, *for* "1,300" *read* "13,000."
„ 176, line 9, *omit* full stop.
„ 209, line 3, *for* "suppositious" *read* "supposititious."
„ 324, note, fifth line from bottom, *for* "Inquisition in" *read* "Inquisition amongst."

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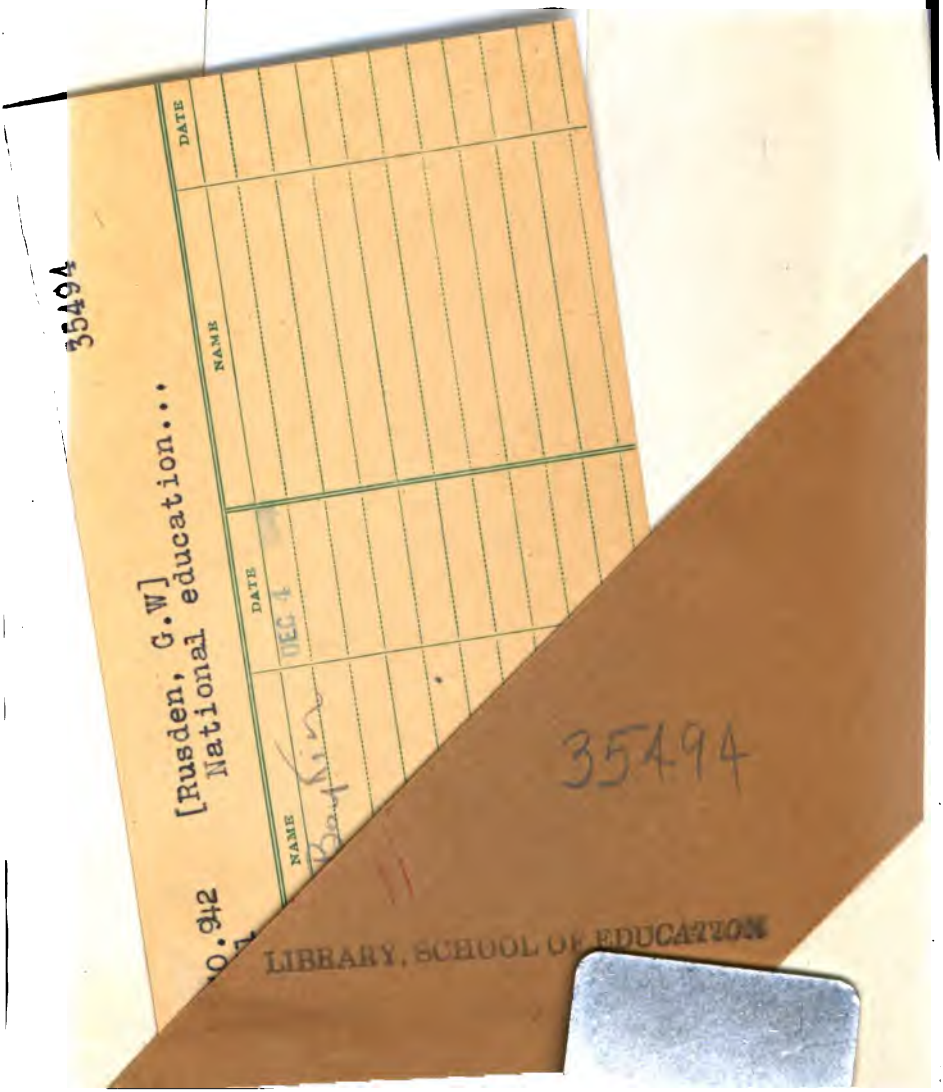
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